

RACE RELATIONS IN SUDBURY: A FOCUS ON AFRICAN-CANADIANS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explored the perception of race relations among African-Canadians in the city of Greater Sudbury. It assessed African-Canadians' perception of the treatments and equal opportunities afforded to them in the city. The purpose of this research was to examine the effect of race on the life experiences of African-Canadians and the unique meanings they ascribe to these encounters. Using snowball sampling, data for this study were collected from the personal stories of 20 African-Canadians in the city of Greater Sudbury. This thesis employed a phenomenological qualitative inquiry to focus on participants' life experiences in the city. Critical race theory was employed as the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of this study. Five major themes emerged during data analysis (1) Social Interaction, (2) Employment, (3) Black in Sudbury, (4) Settlement challenges, and (5) Coping Strategies. This thesis captures a picture of the daily struggles that participants experience in the Sudbury society due to discrimination.

Keywords: Race Relations, Racism, Perceived Discrimination, Racial discrimination, African Canadians

DEDICATION

~This thesis is dedicated to God for giving me the strength and perseverance
to complete this journey~

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Multiculturalism and diversity are popularly believed to be at the core of Canadian values. Canada is also generally assumed to be a country where everyone is respected and accepted irrespective of their racial origin (Dua, Rasack & Warner, 2005). The country has been noted as one of the most tolerant of ethnic minorities, and a large percentage of Canadians are of the belief that they have the freedom to choose the course of their lives (Legatum Prosperity Index, 2015). Canada has been referred to as a cultural mosaic in the past (Porter, 1965). This belief is attributable to the fact that ethnic and cultural diversity in Canada has made race relations part of the “Canadian mosaic” (Haluza-Delay, 2003).

Canada is the second largest country in the world by total area (Statistics Canada, 2016). Despite the country’s enormous size, it has a small population of 36,155,487 people as of April 1, 2016. This number is an increase of 106,966 compared with January 1, 2016, and international migration was the leading agent of the population growth (Statistics Canada, 2016). Canada undoubtedly has very liberal immigration system which has attracted many immigrants over the past few decades and even more in very recent times. The country welcomed 82,216 new immigrants in the first quarter of the year 2016. This number was an increase of 68.8% compared with the first quarter of 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2016). There is a general belief that Canada offers a lot of potentials and opportunities for everyone. It is predicted that Canada’s population will reach 52.6 million by the year 2061 (Statistics Canada, 2016). Within this population of Canada, foreign-born persons make up a remarkable proportion. According to Statistics Canada, the country had a foreign-born population of about 6, 775, 800 people in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011). About 1, 162, 900 foreign-born individuals immigrated to Canada between 2006 and 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011). These statistics show a steady increase in the foreign-born share of the Canadian population, and it is predicted that in 2031, more than one in four Canadians will be foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Individuals leave their home countries to settle in Canada for a variety of reasons. They migrate to Canada because of poverty and low quality of life in their home countries. They choose to live in Canada because of the proverbial “green pastures” and all the beautiful promises the country holds for them together with their families. Individuals also migrate to Canada for jobs, family unification and educational purposes (CIC, 2015). This belief of the excellent quality of life and high standard of living in Canada is not unfounded. The unemployment rate in Canada is 6.9%, and this is considered to be low (Labour Force Survey, 2016). Canada also offers free primary and secondary education as well as subsidized post-secondary studies.

Canadians have access to social assistance programmes and affordable housing. Besides, crime rates in Canada are low and also on a decline (Boyce, Cotter & Perreault, 2014).

Context of the study

Canada is made up of individuals from different racial and ethnic origins born in and outside of the country. In 2011, Canada's foreign-born population represented 20.6% of the total population of the country, and this is the highest proportion among the G8 countries (Statistics Canada, 2011). Furthermore, between 2006 and 2011, about 1,162,900 people immigrated to Canada, and this made up 3.5% of the total population of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). Many of these immigrants belong to different ethnic groups. In the National Household Survey, more than 200 ethnic origins were reported (National Household Survey, 2011). Visible minorities form a significant part of Canada's population. According to Statistics Canada, nearly 6,264,800 people identified themselves as members of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2011). The population of Blacks in the country is on a steady increase as more Africans continue to migrate to Canada. About 145,700 immigrants arrived from Africa between 2006 and 2011, and this number was 12.5% of the immigrants who arrived within that period (Statistics Canada, 2011). Before this period, Africans constituted 1.9% of immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1971 and 7.3% in the 1990's (Statistics Canada, 2011). Blacks are one of the three largest visible minority groups in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). According to Statistics Canada (2011), 945,665 individuals are Blacks, and they constitute 15.1% of the visible minority population and 2.9% of the total population of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). Ontario is one of the two provinces with the highest number of immigrant population; 539,205 individuals identified as Blacks in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2011). When it comes to the city of Greater Sudbury, it has a population of 157,765 according to Statistics Canada (2011), and Blacks constitute 0.6% of this population. The 2016 census indicates that Sudbury currently has a population of 161,647 however; the population of Blacks in the city is not yet available according to Statistics Canada (2016).

Canada is known as a safe country for all individuals. This assumption is evident from the plans of the Trudeau-led liberal government to increase the number and expedite the settlement of refugees in the country. The arrival of new immigrants in Canada will no doubt bring individuals from different racial and ethnic origins into more contact with one another in the Canadian society. It is predicted that the differences in minority and the dominant groups will increase in importance because of the patterns of international migration and globalization which will bring more racial groups into contact (Spencer-Rodgers, Tong & Lead, 2012). It, therefore, can safely be projected that although race relations have remained a critical social issue, it will be even more significant and crucial as more diverse individuals are brought together in the society.

Notwithstanding Canada's official policy of multiculturalism and amid denials of the existence of racial discrimination in a democratic country like Canada, research findings continue to point out that racial discrimination is a significant problem which visible minorities encounter in the Canadian society (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; George & Chaze, 2014).

Purpose of the study

The objective of this research is to examine the lived experiences of African Canadians in Greater Sudbury and to understand their perceptions of race relations in light of their experiences. Studies on this group of visible minorities who arguably suffer more marginalization and victimisation are few. In contrast to previous studies on visible minorities (Basran & Zong, (1998), Beiser et al., (2001), this study concentrated on African Canadians' perceptions and experiences in the Sudbury society including those related to race. This study investigated African Canadians experiences with racism and provided a detailed analysis of how such experiences impact on various aspects of their lives. It also assessed African Canadian's perception of the government and community disposition towards them, as well as efforts to foster multiculturalism and its success. This thesis has the potential to drive further action for understanding and addressing the needs of African Canadians and other visible minorities in smaller Canadian cities and the country as a whole. Also, further research on this topic can interrogate and reveal whether the experiences of African Canadians in the present study are representative of African Canadians in other Canadian cities.

It is well known that many individuals from different ethnic and racial background have had encounters, relationships, and experiences, which give them a unique understanding of race and racism. This study set out to capture these experiences, which could be favorable or unfavorable; the essential factor is what was drawn from those experiences, which would assist in future studies on racism. It is interested in how Black Canadians have navigated their lives in a predominately white small city and the influence which race wields on their daily lives in Sudbury.

Research Questions

This research seeks to investigate the challenges, fulfillment, and opportunities facing visible minority groups by examining the unique experiences, meanings, and perceptions of race relations by African Canadians in Sudbury through a qualitative study. Qualitative research according to Creswell (2003) includes a central overarching question and related sub-questions. The fundamental question outlines the main purpose while the sub-questions narrow the focus of the research.

Following Creswell's proposition, the researcher investigated the following overarching question and sub-questions:

- 1) What is the effect of race on the life experiences of African-Canadians in the city of Greater Sudbury?

The sub-questions are:

- a) How do African Canadians view the city's efforts at ensuring diversity and cross-cultural interactions in the city?
- b) Have African Canadians experienced any form of racism and racial discrimination within the city?
- c) How do African Canadians understand and interpret race relations including the perceptions and meanings they ascribe to their experiences in Sudbury?
- d) How well do new African Canadian immigrants adapt and integrate into the Sudbury community?

Relevance of The Study

According to Statistics Canada (2011), Ontario was one of the two provinces with the highest number of immigrants. Many of these immigrants who are Blacks choose to settle in large cities such as Toronto where Blacks constitute 8.5% of the city's population (Statistics Canada, 2011). The reason for the significant presence of visible minorities in the Canadian metropolitan cities could be that visible minorities choose to settle in the big cities to have access to more jobs, to be around their family and friends who may already be living in Canada, for educational purposes amongst other reasons.

It has been suggested that majority of studies on race relations have been carried out on visible minorities who live in Canada's metropolitan areas and the reason for this could be the large concentration or proportion of visible minorities in those cities. Chen (2004) emphasizes that existing studies on racism focus on visible minorities in big Canadian cities where there are equally significant communities of visible minorities. It is also a possibility that the reason for this lies in an assumption that racism does not exist in the smaller Canadian cities (Lai & Huffey, 2009). The need for more studies on immigrant experiences in mid and smaller sized Canadian cities where immigrants and visible minorities are less likely to settle in was emphasized by Williams et al., (2015). The study found that immigrants in comparison to Canadian-born individuals have perceptions of lower quality of life.

Also, problems of employment, income and language barriers contribute to this perception of lower quality of life (Williams et al., 2015). Another study by Williams et al. (2008) emphasizes that there is an increasing focus on immigrants' quality of life in smaller cities as against the bigger cities as was previously the case. The reason for this shift, according to the study, is the realization by researchers that socio-cultural factors such as access to housing, social services and perceptions of a particular group are as important as economic factors in the assessment of immigrants' quality of life. This reason, it argues, has drawn attention to the need for more research on racial minorities in the smaller Canadian cities (Williams, 2008). It has been noted that visible minorities share the same trend of settling in Canada's larger cities just like immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016). It is also recognized that most immigrants are visible minorities (Nakhaie, 2006). Therefore, the insight in Williams et al. (2015) on the need for more studies on the lived experiences of immigrants could be safely applied to visible minorities as well. This study will also contribute to our understanding of ongoing debates about race, racial discrimination, and integration of immigrants and visible minorities in Canada.

Moreover, it has been pointed out that while there are quite a few studies on immigrants and visible minorities who belong to other racial groups in Canada, there is very little concentration on the experiences of African-Canadians (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). According to Tettey & Puplampu (2005), Africans have not been the specific focus of many research efforts. It would, therefore, appear that this visible minority group deserves further research attention.

This study recognizes and will respond to the needs mentioned above by capturing the unique experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury, to determine the impact of their racial background on their daily lives, encounters, relations, and interactions. Hence, the title – Race relations in Sudbury: A focus on African-Canadians.

Theoretical Framework

The ontological position of this thesis is based on evidence, which suggest that racism is one of the reasons why African Canadians encounter many challenges in various aspects of their lives, including settlement in Sudbury. This position is supported by the meaning of racism as explained by critical race theorists. Racism according to critical race theory is discrimination by the dominant race against visible minorities using their skin color as a form of prejudice to promote the interests of the dominant group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Vue & Newman, 2010).

Visible minorities contend that they suffer discrimination based on their race in the context of Employment (Galabuzi, 2006), Education (James & Turner, 2017), Housing (Teixeira, 2008), and healthcare services (Vissandjee, Weinfeld, Dupere & Abdool, 2001).

Therefore, the researcher infers that African Canadians will encounter similar experiences as they navigate their lives in Sudbury. The epistemological position of this thesis is to use open-ended semi-structured interviews, to provide evidence and knowledge to explore the social reality of race. This study seeks to discover meanings and perceptions of life in Sudbury by members of the African-Canadian racial minority group.

Critical Race Theory

The researcher used critical race theory as the theoretical perspective and phenomenology as the methodological and analytical framework to examine the experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury. Critical race theory acknowledges the existence and presence of racism in various aspects of societal life (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000). The distinctive thing about critical race theory is the unique way that it theorizes embodied power. It has been demonstrated that “race” has a history tied to practices of domination (Hawkesworth, 2010). Racism is seen as inherent in the society and privileges whites over visible minorities (Delgado, 1995). Critical race theory defines itself as ‘critical’ specifically because of its critique of discourses that claim to be neutral or objective (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014). According to Solorzano & Yosso, (2002, p.25), “critical race theory advances a strategy to focus on the role of race and racial discrimination”. Part of this strategy is also to work “toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of opposing and eliminating other forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexual orientation, language, and national origin” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002:25). Critical race theory seeks to identify and examine the structures and processes that promote racism so that transformation of the system can be feasible (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Although critical race theory has been mostly employed in research in the field of education, the framework may be transferable to other disciplines and areas of study (Milner, 2007). There is a belief in some areas that racism is a thing of the past (Galabuzi, Casipullai & Go, 2012). Social science research which demonstrate the existence of racism by describing the experiences of visible minorities who have encountered instances of perceived discrimination will help dispel this ‘post-racial’ argument (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014). Social science research can also provide critical race theory with data on the significant empirical claims like, how race constructs vital aspects of social experiences (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014).

Critical race theory is relevant to this study because the research questions investigate how race and racism impact the lives of African Canadians as well as identify ways in which the social injustice they suffer can be remedied. Critical race theoretical framework puts race and racism at the fore in all aspects of the research (Solorzano & Yosso (2002), this is helpful in understanding the experiences of those individuals who suffer injustice in the society.

Qualitative Research Method

The methodological orientation that was employed in this study is the qualitative research design. A qualitative study design was chosen to give African-Canadians the opportunity to describe their lived experiences in their voices. The qualitative technique allowed the researcher an insight into the understanding and perceptions of participants on race relations and to examine how they structure and give meaning to their daily lives in Sudbury. Although quantitative studies are essential to understanding the extent of perceived discrimination, it is important and valuable to utilize qualitative methods that give a detailed description of the experiences of discrimination among visible minorities (Creswell, 2007).

Phenomenology

The analytic approach that was used in this study is phenomenology. This approach studies lived experiences, and it is about how we experience the world and the meaning we take away from it (Abawi, 2012). The central theme of phenomenology is the concept of 'lifeworld.' According to Husserl, a founding phenomenologist, individuals as dwellers in the lifeworld view and embrace meaning differently. They also give experiences different interpretations (Husserl, 1931). Blodgett McDeavitt (1997) explained phenomenology in this way,

“Phenomenology is a research design used to study deep human experience. It is not used to create new judgment or find new theories; it reduces rich descriptions of human experience to underlying common themes, resulting in a short description in which every word accurately depicts the phenomenon..” (McDeavitt, 1997:2).

The task of the researcher using phenomenology, therefore, is to investigate the descriptions and interpretations as told by participants. Phenomenology is situated in a paradigm that is non-hierarchical, holistic and non-judgemental (Moustakas, 1994).

Definitions and a Brief Discussion of Key Terms

Defining Race Relations

The concept of race relations not only includes all relationships which are capable of producing race conflict and consciousness, but it also determines the relative status of groups in the community (Park, 1939). Positive race relations inadvertently contribute to a sense of belonging and inclusion for all persons. In a bid to prevent and put an end to racial conflicts, the government of Canada adopted the policy of multiculturalism in 1971 (CIC, 2017). This policy is reflected through the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CCRF). The Multiculturalism Act affirms government policy to ensure that every Canadian is treated not only respectfully, but also in a manner that recognizes and celebrates the individual's diversity.

S.27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom stipulates that, “the Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians” (S.27 CCRF). S.15 of the Charter also provides for the right of all persons to be treated equally and to be free from discrimination because of their race (S.15 CCRF). These legislations were all aimed towards inclusion and promotion of multiculturalism for better race relations between all racial groups in Canada.

Defining Visible Minorities

For this study, the researcher adopted the meaning of visible minorities as defined by the Employment Equity Act. Visible minorities have been defined as, “persons, other than Aboriginal persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in color (S. 3, E.E Act 1995). The other designated groups under the Employment Equity Act are women, aboriginal people and people with disability. Aboriginal people are not classified as visible minorities (S. 3, E.E. Act, 1995). The definition of visible minorities is unlikely to be based on an individual's country of birth and citizenship. The reason for this is because some visible minorities could be Canadian born citizens whose family generation migrated to Canada, some may also be foreign-born immigrants who are naturalized in Canada.

About 6,264,800 individuals identified as visible minorities in 2011; 30.9% of them were born in Canada, and 65.1% were born outside the country and immigrated to Canada. The remaining 4% of the visible minority population were non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 2011). Canada’s foreign-born population are ethno-culturally diverse. The following groups make up the visible minority population: Blacks, South Asians, Filipinos, Latin Americas, Arabs, East Asians, West Asians, Koreans and Japanese (Statistics Canada, 2015). Before 2006, many immigrants originally came from Europe (Statistics Canada, 2016). Asia and Africa currently have the most significant proportion among immigrants in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015).

Defining African Canadians

The focus of this thesis is on the lived experiences of the Black or African-Canadian minority group in Sudbury. The term ‘African-Canadian’ is used as a signifier of identity capturing all individuals of African origin in Canada (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). African Canadian is also sometimes used by Black Canadians who trace their heritage to the first slaves brought by British and French Colonists to North America (Stolorow, 1999). ‘Black Canadian’ has further been explained as a designation used for people of Black African descent, who are citizens and permanent residents of Canada (Walcott, 2003). Individuals from the Caribbean, whose ancestors might have migrated from Africa were not interviewed for this study.

Whites from South Africa and other individuals who do not have African ancestry were also not included in this study.

As a result of slavery, Blacks were among the first non-indigenous residents of Canada and they have been in Canada as skilled and unskilled persons carrying on with their lives and careers over the past 350 years (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). Following the changes in Canada's immigration policies, it would appear that there have been more people coming to settle in Canada from Africa. In recent years, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of African immigrants in the country. African immigrants had a population of 64,265 in the 1980s, their number rose to 72,260 by 1996 and 300,000 by the year 2000 (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Defining Race

Race is commonly defined to be biological characteristics of individuals as shown in their physical appearance (Zuberi, 2001). Racial ideology forms the basis on which some racial groups are enslaved and exploited on the belief that some racial groups are different and better than other groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Race ideology is not constant. Race has been explained as an ideology that came into existence at a particular historical moment for "rationally understandable historical reasons" and it is also subject to change for same reasons (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Ideology has been stated by scholars to fulfill five social functions, namely, "accounting for the existence of social inequality, providing basic rules on engaging in interracial interactions, furnishing the basis for actors' subjectivity, shaping and influencing the views of dominated actors, and, by claiming universality, hiding the fact of racial domination" (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

The concept of race is one that elicits a lot of reactions from different people, it is also one which many individuals are not very keen to discuss. Questions on the actual existence of race have been asked countless times and conflicting and different answers are constantly given (Tattersall & De Salle, 2011). One often finds herself wondering if there is anything like 'race' or whether it is just a figment of our imagination, thoughts and perception. Does everything really translate to and attributable to race? Is it the explanation to every power hierarchy and domination involving visible minorities? Attempts have been made by scholars to answer these questions.

Biologists and cultural anthropologists have long been of the view that human races have no true existence in nature and many social scientists also emphasize that there is no valid biological basis for the concept of race (Krimsky & Sloan, 2011). Cavalli-Sforza & Cavalli-Sforza (1995) assert that the topic of race is unavoidable no matter how much we want to ignore it.

The topic of race confronts us everywhere and may never go away. Arguments on the existence of race were analysed by Cavalli-Sforza & Cavalli-Sforza (1995). The study agreed that the idea of race serves no purpose except foster an unfounded belief in racial superiority. Although race has no biological construct, it is evident that race and racism still exist (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). They are as real as ever and present in our daily lives, from the tiniest to the biggest detail. A visible minority walks into a store and is discreetly or tactically followed or monitored to make sure that no shoplifting occurs. There is mostly no basis for this kind of suspicion apart from the colour of the individuals' skin and it is based on that characteristic that he is judged. Lopez (2013) emphasising the power of race stated,

Human fate still rides upon ancestry and appearance. The characteristics of our hair, complexion, and facial features still influence whether we are figuratively free or enslaved. Race dominates our personal lives. It manifests itself in our speech, dance, neighbors, and friends -our very ways of talking, walking, eating and dreaming are ineluctably shaped by notions of race (Lopez, 2013:192).

Defining Racism

Racism is a prohibited ground in the Human Rights code and it is not specifically defined. As noted by Fredrickson (2002), the word "racism" became widely used in the western world in the 1930's, when it was used to describe the social and political ideology of Nazism which viewed "race" as a naturally given political unit. Racism has been defined differently by various scholars. Garner (2009) asserts that 'racism' does not fall under a single definition. Some individuals are of the belief that people matter more or are more important and valuable based on the colour of their skin, their accent and other racial signifiers (Garner 2009).

Racism has been explained as the belief that humans are subdivided into separate groups that are different in their behaviours and capacities which make them either inferior or superior (Newman, 2012). Racism has also been described as "the belief that all members of a particular race possess characteristics specific to that race, a particular form of prejudice defined by pre-conceived and erroneous beliefs about members of racial groups" (Hoyt, 2010). It has been explained as institutional conditions which result in group inequality. In this case, the belief is that the subordinate racial group is inferior to the dominant group (Bobo & Fox, 2003). According to Memmi (2000), racism is,

A generalizing definition and valuation of differences, whether real or imaginary to the advantage of the one defining or deploying them (accusateur), and to the detriment of the one subjugated to the act of definition (victime), whose purpose is to justify (social or physical) hostility and assault (Memmi, 2000:100).

Notwithstanding the different definitions of racism, all of them agree that racism is an ideology that either explicitly or implicitly asserts that one ethnic or racial group is inherently superior to others. Three common elements contained in the definition of racism have been summarized by Garner (2009) as first, a historical, hierarchical power relationship between groups; second, an ideology about racial differences and third, discriminatory actions.

Defining Racism and Racial Discrimination

Article 1 of the International Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) defines racial discrimination as,

Any distinction, restriction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life “(Art.1, ICERD).

Racial discrimination has also been explained to entail *“any distinction, conduct or action whether intentional or not, but based on a person’s race, which has the effect of imposing burdens on an individual or group, not imposed upon others or which withholds or limits access to benefits available to other members of society* (Andrews v Law Society of Canada, 1989). Klumpp & Xu (2013) suggest another dimension from which racial discrimination could be understood. They assert that if the presence or absence of discrimination cannot be observed directly, the question becomes whether or not unequal outcomes constitute evidence of unequal treatment. It would appear that racism is not exactly the same as racial discrimination. The difference between the two was acknowledged by Johnson v Halifax (2003). It was pointed out in that case that while racism is a social phenomenon, racial discrimination is the one which is prohibited by law. The Ontario human rights code also seems to be in agreement, it asserts that racism is a wider phenomenon than racial discrimination (Ohrc.on.ca). It is apparent that racism plays a major role in fostering racial discrimination, as racism need only be a factor for racial discrimination to occur (Andrews v Law Society of British Columbia, 1989).

Defining Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination may be exercised by an individual, a group of people, or by public and private organisations when they fail to attend equally to the needs of groups in less favourable socio-economic situations (Agudelo-Suarez et al., 2011). The experience of discrimination could be actual or perceived. Perceived discrimination has been explained as perception that one has experienced differential and negative treatment because he or she belongs to a particular race (Hausmann et al., 2010). For this study, the question of whether an actual discrimination occurred lies in the individual who had the experience in question.

If an individual perceived an act or encounter as discriminatory on the basis of race, there is a chance that it actually was discriminatory as study participants are competent adults who understand what it means to treat a person fairly or unfairly. The “subjective judgment of the individual is the critical point of analysis in understanding the impact of racism on well-being” (Harrell, 2000).

To Sum Up

This thesis is organized and presented in six chapters. In this chapter, I provided the purpose and background of my study, identified the research questions, introduced and explained the theoretical framework guiding this thesis. This chapter also contains definitions and brief discussion of some of the key terms applied throughout the research. The central topic is the experiences of African-Canadians with race relations in Sudbury. The theoretical framework for this study is critical race theory. This framework was used to examine how race and racism affect the experiences of African-Canadians and ultimately, the structures and processes in the society which promote social injustice either intentionally or unintentionally (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2002). The objective of this study is to inform and encourage the development and implementation of new and improved policies and practices to address the concerns and needs of visible minorities, specifically, African Canadians by examining their life experiences in Sudbury.

The second chapter of this thesis offers a review of related literature on the topic of study. Here, I examine and discuss race relations and racial discrimination in the contexts of education, employment, housing, and provision of healthcare services. I also discuss settlement barriers encountered by immigrant visible minorities as well as the relationship between racism and identity. The second chapter also discusses the history of racism in Canada as well as racism in the contemporary Canadian society.

The third chapter of this thesis analyzes the theoretical framework guiding this research. It also discusses the research methods and design. This chapter covers the sources of data and data collection techniques, the role of the researcher, the population of the study, the sampling procedures and detailed explanation of the sample. It also captures the data analysis methods, field problems and ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter presents the socio-demographic profile of participants and research findings. It also indicates that the researcher asked questions relating to the research topic and purpose of the study.

The fifth chapter discusses the findings of this thesis in light of existing literature.

The sixth and final chapter summarizes the major findings of this thesis, draws conclusions from the study and provides recommendations for future research and action.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews what other authors have written about race relations and racial discrimination, its prevalence, challenges, and effects on visible minorities. The chapter begins with a discussion of the history of racism in Canada, forms of racism, as well as racism in the contemporary Canadian society. This was necessary in order to provide a solid base from which to explore the experiences of African Canadians in Sudbury. The review section begins with a broad overview of literature in the field of race relations and racism. The rest of the chapter explores the experiences of racial discrimination in the contexts of education, employment, housing and provision of healthcare services. It also examines existing literature on social support for new immigrants, racial identity, effects of racial discrimination on its victims as well as coping strategies employed by visible minorities.

History of Racism

The concept of race is significant in North America and this may be as a result of the history of the continent. Black slavery existed and was actively practiced in Canada (Mclachlin, 2002). It is asserted that “slavery is Canada’s best kept secret locked within the national closet” (Cooper, 2006:254). Between 1628 and 1800, about 3,000 Africans who came into Canada were held as slaves. In the year 1793, this became limited by an Act to prevent the further introduction of slaves and to limit the terms of contracts for servitude (Ontario Government Archives). Slavery was later abolished in 1833 by the British Parliament’s Emancipation Act although the legacy of slavery is still in existence (Mclachlin, 2002).

African Canadians, as a visible minority group have suffered tremendous hardship, disadvantage and discrimination in the Canadian society. They were excluded from churches, restaurants and other public places. They were also restricted to manual and low paying employment (Mclachlin, 2002). Many Blacks lived in segregated communities in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario, and this was carried out by means of restrictive covenants attached to leases and deeds (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2016). African Canadians were prevented from attending the same schools as the White dominant group. The Canadian government put in place racially segregated schools to avoid any form of contact between the Blacks and White racial groups (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2016). In *Hill vs Camden*, an application to compel school trustees to admit Black students was dismissed and the reason was that the establishment of a separate school for coloured students precluded their parents from choosing the common school (Winks, 1997).

Blacks as well as other visible minority groups were denied of their basic human rights. The case of Fred Christie, a Black chauffeur in Montreal was a clear example of such fundamental rights infringements. In 1936, Christie was refused service in the Montreal tavern on account of his race. He lost the case when he sued, and he also lost on appeal in 1940 on the grounds that “the no service for coloured rule” was not contrary to good morals or public order (Christie vs. York Corporation, 1939). It would appear that the aforementioned and other discriminatory acts and practices were all carried out to discourage visible minorities from settling into the Canadian society. This can be implied from the then Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s expression of concern about the quality of the dominant white race being reduced or ruined by their mingling with visible minorities who are seen to be the ‘lower races’ (Dominique, 2008).

Blacks or African Canadians were not the only visible minority group with a long history of racial discrimination and prejudice in the Canadian society. It is well documented that Chinese Canadians also suffered a similar fate. There was the 1885 Head Tax, which was an Act of parliament that placed a Head Tax of \$50 on all Chinese Immigrants entering Canada. This amount later went up to \$500 in 1903 and it lasted for 38 years (Mack vs. Canada A.G., 2001). The Head tax was put in place to stop or discourage the Chinese from coming to settle in Canada. In 1872, the right to vote in provincial and municipal elections was also taken away from Chinese Canadians in British Columbia. They were further subjected to more discriminatory laws and policies affecting their ability to own property, operate businesses, enter certain professions and also prevented from employing white women (Mclachlin, 2002).

The Japanese were not left out of racism as they also suffered great injustice and unfair treatment in Canada. During the World War II, about 23,000 Japanese Canadians living on the west coast of British Columbia were sent to relocation and detention camps in the interior of British Columbia, Southern Alberta, Manitoba and Northern Ontario. They were later stripped of their properties and savings and threatened with further expulsion from the country. By 1947, about 4,000 Japanese Canadians half of whom were Canadian born had left Canada. The Canadian Government acknowledged the magnitude of these unjust acts against this racial group and not only was a formal apology issued to them, a compensation of \$12,000 was also paid to the surviving Japanese Canadians in 1988 (Canada Race Relations Foundation, 2016).

South Asians have also been affected by racial bias and hostility, as well as discriminatory laws affecting their rights (CRRF, 2016). The Canadian government restricted immigration from India by passing an order-in-council in January, 1908. This order prohibited immigration to Canada, of persons who did not come from their country of birth by a continuous journey.

It was well known at that time that ships which start their journey in India usually do a stopover in Japan or Hawaii because of the long distance to Canada therefore, the purpose of this order was to prevent individuals from India from coming into Canada (CRRF, 2016; Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 1998). In 1914, four hundred passengers of a ship from India who were all immigrants were denied entry into Vancouver. They were held aboard the ship for nearly three months before being forced to return to India (CRRF, 2016).

In the past, some Canadian laws were not only discriminatory in their form but also served to drive home the idea that visible minorities were the inferior group in Canada. The 1897 Female Refugees Act (FRA) in Canada is an example of such unfair laws. The Act provided that any parent or guardian may bring before a judge, any female under the age of 21 who proves unmanageable or incorrigible. This Act allowed women aged 16 – 35 to be imprisoned for promiscuity, public drunkenness and pregnancy out of wedlock (S. 16 FRA). At that time, cohabiting with a visible minority was classified under the terms stated by the Act as was seen in the case of Velma Demerson, a white Canadian imprisoned in 1939 in the province of Ontario for living in a common law relationship with a Chinese national. She was pregnant with his child and was charged to court by her father who opposed the union on racist grounds. Velma Demerson was denied plea to marry the Chinese and was remanded to be sentenced under S. 15 of the Ontario Female Refugee Act (Demerson, 2004). An apology and negotiated settlement between Demerson and the Ontario government was later reached in 2002, about 60 years after the incident and the Female Refugees Act was declared unconstitutional (Merhi, 2012).

Role of Civil rights movement

After World War II, it became evident that visible minorities and immigrants were unwilling to accept the status quo. The need for equal rights and an end to discrimination based on the race of individuals was recognised and Rights movement played a major part to bring an official end to racial discrimination in Canada (Clement, Silver & Trottier, 2012; Norman & Eliadis, 2006). The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s led by Martin Luther King Jr encouraged the passage of civil rights legislation prohibiting discrimination based on colour, religion, race or ethnic origin in the United States. The American civil rights movement bolstered the confidence of visible minorities all over the world and this led to more advocacy for equal treatment of all persons irrespective of race (www.ohrc.on.ca). The Human Rights movement led to more social inclusion for visible minorities. There were no longer separate and inferior public institutions for blacks; exclusive residential areas for whites; legal refusal to serve blacks in restaurants and accommodate them in hotels (McClelland & Stewart, 1998). The minority groups as well as parliamentarians all played a role towards full acceptance rather than mere tolerance of visible minorities in Canada (Lewycky, 2007).

Multiculturalism Policy and Legislation

To create an inclusive atmosphere for every individual irrespective of race or ethnicity, Canada adopted multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971 and it was passed into law in 1988 (Dewing, 2009). "Multiculturalism in Canada depicts racial, religious and cultural equality and by adopting the multicultural policy, Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all persons" (CIC, 2012). In addition to the Multiculturalism policy, other legislations, which emphasize diversity were also passed to ensure the equality of all persons in Canada. There was the Immigration Act of 1976 which was later replaced by the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2001. The Canadian Bill of Rights, passed in 1960 was the first human rights law at the federal level in Canada. It guarantees several basic rights and freedom of all persons and the right not to be deprived of it, except in accordance with procedural fairness (S.1 Canadian Bill of Rights). Furthermore, the Canadian Human Rights Act which was passed in 1977 protects human rights in the federal public and private sectors particularly the right to freedom from discrimination in the areas of employment, housing and the provision of services (S. 3, 5 & 7 Canadian Human Rights Act). There is also the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom (CCRF), which recognises Canadian multiculturalism by helping to guide the interpretation of the Charter to respect it. Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedom states that "this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (S. 27 CCRF). In addition, S.15(1) CRRF lists the prohibited grounds of discrimination. It provides that, "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, or colour" (S. 15(1) CCRF).

Although the Canadian Bill of Rights and Canadian Human Rights Act are still in place and effective, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom take priority over all other laws in Canada because it is part of the constitution which is the supreme law of the land. Unlike the other laws, under the charter of rights and freedom, human rights in Canada are protected in the written constitution therefore it cannot be repealed or changed (Department of Justice, Government of Canada). This means that the protection of basic human rights in Canada is designed to enjoy absolute and limitless protection by the law. Apart from the legislations passed in Canada to ensure an equal society, the country has also affirmed its commitment to multiculturalism in other ways. Canada took part and played an active role in the world conference against racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in Durban, South Africa in 2001. Canada is also recognised internationally as a leader in human rights and it has ratified the six major United Nations international human rights treaties and many supporting instruments (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005).

Contemporary Beliefs on The Existence of Racism and Facts of Racism in Canada

It is believed by some scholars that although Canada could historically be described as a racist society, it is no longer the present situation. This is because Canada has initiated a lot of multicultural and anti-racist policies, human rights legislation and criminal codes that make racial hatred an offence (Fieras, 2014). It is believed by some Canadians that racism no longer exists. According to an Angus Reid Poll, 32% of Canadians believe that racism is a significant problem in Canada, while 55% are satisfied that the country has overcome racism (Galabuzi, Casipullai & Go, 2012). This implies that Canada has gotten rid of discrimination based on race, therefore reports of racial discrimination are likely to be untrue and not to be acted upon. Irrespective of the fact that laws and policies that protect the fundamental rights of visible minorities have been put in place in Canada, visible minorities are still disadvantaged because they have to exercise these rights and compete to succeed without any consideration of their historical and present experiences of racism (Fieras, 2014).

Anzovino (2015) emphasizes that the first step in understanding racism is to acknowledge that it is real, that it is serious and that it is pervasive. Despite Canada's multiculturalism policies and laws as well as other efforts at combating racial discrimination, it would appear that racism is yet to be expunged in the Canadian society. Racism is very much in existence, so much so that Canada has been described as a racist society (Liam & Matthew, 1998). While it is acknowledged that the blatant discrimination experienced by racial minorities in the past is no longer in existence, problems with race relations seem to be far from over. Research findings continue to point out that racial discrimination still occurs (Pruegger & Kiely, 2002). It is believed that racial discrimination persists in institutional settings and interpersonal relations (Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996). Despite the fact that racial discrimination remains illegal in Canada, some overt and subtle forms of it are still practiced in various contexts of the Canadian society for instance, in housing (Mensah & Williams, 2013), employment (George & Chaze, 2014), services (Pollock, Newbold, Lafreniere & Edge, 2011) amongst others.

Furthermore, scholars assert that racial minorities are allocated a smaller share of the political power and material resources than the majority group (Sidanus & Pratto, 1999; Phinney, 1996). They are also subjected to unfair and differential treatment on the basis of their race and they experience significant prejudice and discrimination by the majority group (Angel & Angel, 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Visible minorities encounter racism in various facet of their daily lives. It has been found by existing research that about one quarter of the visible minority workers reported having experienced racial harassment or discrimination in the workplace (Samuel & Basavarajappa, 2006).

Existing literature also indicate that visible minorities, immigrants and aboriginal people are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, lower incomes and social segregation (Government of Canada, 2005).

Incidence of poverty among immigrants, almost half of whom are visible minorities, have been shown to be high in Canada (Mata, 2009; CIC, 2009). Studies also indicate that individuals who belong to visible minority groups are more likely to experience poverty (Ornstein, 2006). In addition, existing research point out that visible minority immigrants even after living in Canada for more than two decades are still more likely than other immigrants to live on low income (Palameta, 2004). Low wage or poverty experienced by visible minorities is not peculiar to new visible minority immigrants, Canadian born racial minorities are paid lower wages in comparison to members of the dominant white-group. Studies show that among Canadian born men, the three largest visible minority groups- Blacks, Chinese, and South Asians had significant wage gaps compared to their Caucasian counterparts (Hou & Coulombe, 2008). The wage disparity between visible minorities and the dominant White group could be part of the reasons why the poverty rate amongst visible minorities continue to be on the increase.

Moreover, it would appear that within the visible minority group, individuals belonging to certain ethnicities suffer racial discrimination more than others. According to Statistics Canada, race and ethnicity represented about half of all hate crime incidents (Statistics Canada, 2015). When it comes to hate crimes related to race and ethnicity, blacks are the most targeted at 22% of all types of hate crime (Statistics Canada, 2015). The 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey found that nearly one-half of blacks and one-third of south Asians and Chinese respondents have experienced discrimination and unfair treatment in the previous five years (Statistics Canada, 2005).

It is argued that the ideologies in place in Canada are contradictory and this is not very helpful in identifying and combating differential treatment on the basis of race (Nakhaie, 2006). According to Nakhaie (2006), the Canadian ideology which emphasize individualism and that which focus on collectivism undermine each other's success. Individualism ensures that those who work hard, have the best talent, and are motivated have the best opportunities irrespective of their origin and background. This ideology it is argued gives credence to societal inequalities by attributing success or failure to personal attributes rather than structural causes (Nakhaie, 2006). It was further asserted that social structure has an effect on success and that an individuals' success is not only brought about by her efforts as past history of privilege and discrimination contribute to an individuals' outcome in life (Nakhaie, 2006).

Forms of Racism

Racism is not only a set of beliefs, it also manifests in the practices and structures of institutions (Fredrickson, 2002). Based on perpetrators of racist acts, two forms of racism have been identified as individual and systemic racism (Macpherson, 1999). Individual racism refers to personal racist assumptions, or behaviour and it is projected from “conscious and unconscious personal prejudice” (Henry & Tator, 2006). For this form of racism, individuals have a high intolerance towards other persons of different races and ethnicities. Through their acts and conduct, they try to belittle, oppress and dominate individuals who belong to a different race based on the belief that they are better than them (Henry & Tator, 2006). The other form of racism which is systemic racism takes the form of policies and practices embedded in established institutions which disadvantage people unnecessarily because of their race. It was explained by Macpherson (1999) as the failure of an organisation to provide appropriate services to people as a result of their colour, culture or race. According to the study, this can be seen in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through the exhibition of ignorance, prejudice and racist stereotyping that disadvantage visible minorities (Macpherson, 1999). Systemic racism is made manifest in institutional and structural forms of racism (Feagin, 2006). According to Henry & Tator (2010), institutional racism is seen in the policies and procedures of different institutions which lend support or put in place differential and unfair advantages for some racial groups either intentionally or unintentionally. Racism could also be carried out when policymakers fail to address or continue to carry out unfair practices against visible minorities. Structural racism has been explained to consist of “inequalities in system-wide operation of a society that excludes some racial groups from significantly participating in the society” (Henry & Tator, 2006:352).

Based on direct observables, two forms of racism have been identified as Covert and Overt racism (Mensah & Williams, 2013). Some of the racial discriminatory acts carried out against members of visible minority groups could be obvious, example, graffiti, racial slurs, intimidation, physical violence amongst others. Changes in societal norms have made explicit racism less socially acceptable (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001). Racial discriminatory acts and practices have consequently, taken different and hidden forms. Racism in recent times is less direct and is commonly referred to as “subtle” or “covert” and this has been pointed out as a source of difficulty for “social scientific conceptualization and measurement” (Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

However, it would seem that this is not an implication that racism is diminishing. While racial discrimination remains illegal in Canada, some subtle and not subtle forms of it are still practised in many aspects of Canadian life, including the housing market (Mensah & Williams, 2013).

Moreover, Swim et al. (1998) assert that visible minorities have encountered “everyday racism” in Canada. The term everyday racism has been described as unfair and prejudicial treatments received by visible minority groups in their interpersonal relations with mainstream society (Essed, 1991; Swim et al., 1998). The idea that racism in the Canadian society is more covert than overt is widely acknowledged (George & Chaze, 2014). The discriminatory experiences described by study respondents in Henry, Tator, Mattis & Reese’s (1995) study were predominantly subtle. This finding is consistent with the conclusions of many authorities who propose that discrimination in contemporary Europe and North America is more likely to be covert than obvious (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997).

Racial Discrimination and Perception of Discrimination

Research by Hou & Balakrishnan (1996) examined the variations in “social mobility” among various ethnic groups in the contemporary Canadian society using the 1991 census public use sample. The quantitative study compared the entrance status of immigrants and the mobility experiences of Southern and Eastern European groups and some visible minorities such as Blacks, Chinese and South Asians. It found that although visible minorities mostly have a higher level of education, many of them do not have high status occupations. Ethnic differences in socioeconomic status were found to exist in the contemporary Canadian society. The study also found that Blacks are among the visible minority groups that suffer most in income inequality. It found that visible minorities have incomes lower than what their educational and professional achievements would merit, they also follow a different, albeit disadvantaged path of integration into Canadian society (Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996).

Existing literature have also examined racial discrimination against landed immigrants in Canada. Nangia (2013) investigated discrimination against landed immigrants using data obtained from the General Social Survey (GSS), conducted in Canada in 2009. The study revealed that 20% of landed immigrants were subjected to some form of discrimination within the study reference period. The quantitative study also identified the major basis of discrimination suffered by landed immigrants as ethnicity, race, colour, as well as language. Twenty eight percent of those who experienced discrimination reported that discrimination was perpetuated by those in authority. Many participants also reported unfair treatment by service providers. The study reiterated that immigrant visible minorities suffer a lot of discrimination in the Canadian society (Nangia, 2013). An examination of the experiences of francophone visible minorities in Canada has also revealed that Black francophone are faced with multiple marginalisation based on their language and race. It also suggested that discrimination which they encounter is perpetuated by white francophone and Anglophone society (Madibbo, 2006).

Furthermore, an examination of the effect of discriminatory practices on the quality of various types of care received across different health care settings in Canada indicated a connection between participants' newcomer status and discrimination based on their race, gender, ethnicity, religion, type of accent, language and sexual orientation (Pollock, Newbold, Lafreniere & Edge, 2011).

Racial discrimination in academic institutions has equally received some attention from scholars. A study by Dei et al. (1995) examined the effect of racism on dropout rates among groups of Black students in Canada. The research revealed that 36% of the Black students enrolled in school were at risk of dropping out because of their inability to accrue sufficient credits required for graduation compared with 26% for Whites at those same schools. The main cause of the problems of the Black students studied was perceived to be racial discrimination by their White peers and teachers and this presented persistent pressure for them. Ruck & Wortley's (2002) study also investigated the perceptions of differential treatment relating to school disciplinary practices by racial and ethnic minority high school students. Results of the study indicated that racial and ethnic minority students are more likely to perceive discrimination with respect to teacher treatment, school suspension, use of police by school authorities, and police treatment at school than White students. The study also revealed that such perceptions are particularly strong for Black students (Ruck & Wortley, 2002).

Furthermore, there also exist studies that focus on specific visible minority group's perception of discrimination in schools. The experiences of academically successful black students in Alberta's secondary schools was investigated and analysed by Codjoe (2010). The study found that systemic racism in Canadian society is a significant barrier that stands in the way of black academic achievement. Positive interactions with faculty have also been found to offer support and encouragement for minority students whereas negative encounters are troubling for them (Samuel & Burney, 2003). Henry & Tator's (2009) study maintains that racism still "persists" in the academic environment. The work interrogated historical and modern ways in which racism manifests itself in Canadian higher institutions. It also gave an insight into the challenges and struggles which visible minority faculty and students face in the country's academic environment by drawing on existing literature and empirical studies of racism in Canadian schools. It contends that "access" and "equity" are denied to visible minorities in academe and this is a major reason why they find the academic environment to be hostile, unsafe learning and working environment (Henry & Tator, 2009).

Experiences of racial discrimination among members of faculty of colleges and universities have also been examined. Mahtani (2007) investigated discrimination among visible minority women who are members of faculty and graduate students in the geography departments across Canada, the US and Britain. The study suggests that policies and practices within the departments continue to reflect a persistence of racialized and gendered inequities in the workplace (Mahtani, 2007).

Existing literature have examined racial discrimination in the context of housing. New immigrants' perceptions of discrimination in finding rental housing in Canada was examined by Dion (2002). Respondents from Jamaica, Poland and Somalia participated in the study which revealed that Jamaicans and Somali immigrants perceived greater personal and group discrimination. In addition, the experience of Ghanaian and Somali immigrants in Toronto's rental market was investigated by Mensah & Williams (2013). The study revealed that Ghanaian and Somali immigrants face many housing challenges some of which concern matters of racial discrimination (Mensah & Williams, 2013).

There have also been questions on how well visible minorities have been able to adapt and be accepted into the Canadian society. The integration of visible minorities in contemporary Canadian society was examined in a study by Hou & Balakrishnan (1996). The study revealed that while visible minorities tend to have a higher level of education, they are under-represented in high status occupations and have incomes lower than what their education and experience deserve. In addition, studies have looked at the career success of visible minorities who trained outside Canada. George & Chaze's (2014) study investigated the experiences of foreign trained and locally trained engineers in Canada. The study examined the relationship of race and foreign training with the ability to secure work in the engineering field as well as perceptions of discrimination by foreign trained engineers. It suggests that locally trained engineers were far more likely to acquire jobs in the field of engineering than foreign trained engineers (George & Chaze, 2014).

The wage gap between the dominant white group, new immigrants and visible minorities have received attention over time. Earning differentials among Canadian native born and immigrants was reviewed in Nakhaie (2006). The study suggests that some of the difficulties suffered by visible minorities are due to their places of birth. It also asserts that other than aboriginals, visible minorities are more likely to be immigrants and immigrants as a group earn over 9% less than native-born Canadians. According to the study, visible minorities as a group earn approximately 15% less than non-visible minority groups (Nakhaie, 2006). Work and income trends among visible minorities and the white majority Canadian workers were also compared using the 2006 census data in a study by Block & Galabuzi (2011).

The data showed that notwithstanding the fact that visible minorities in Canada participate more in the labour market, they have a higher rate of unemployment and earn less income than the white majority group (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

Furthermore, existing studies have examined the relationship between identity and individuals' perception of racial discrimination. It suggests that experiences of racial discrimination brought about stronger and better feelings about ethnic identity among university students in Toronto (Dion, Dion & Pak, 1992). Other studies have also found no evidence of any connection between perceived racial discrimination and ethnic identity (Noh, Beiser, Kasper & Hou, 1999; Sanders-Thompson, 1996).

Moreover, scholars have analysed some reasons why certain individuals may be more likely to attribute racial discrimination to actions more than others. Outten, Giguere, Schmitt and Lalonde (2010) examined how various aspects of Black racial identity affected attributions to racial discrimination in two situations where members of negatively stereotyped groups had difficulty interpreting feedback. The study found that racial identity beliefs by individuals who believe that their racial group is different and unique in the experiences they encounter are more likely to attribute outcomes to racial discrimination. Individual differences and its relationship to the way people attribute every negative experience to racial discrimination was examined by Sellers and Shelton (2003). The study suggests that some individuals are always watchful and ready to immediately pick out negative treatment and ascribe it to discrimination while some others choose not to notice even when confronted with signs which point towards racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Effects of Racial Discrimination

Existing literature have interrogated the effect of racial discrimination on its victims. Racial discrimination has been shown to have an adverse effect on the educational outcomes of individuals who have experienced it (Samuel, 2004). The effect of racial discrimination is also seen in the context of employment. Visible minorities encounter difficulties in securing jobs in Canada. Research suggests that visible minority professional immigrants perceive that they face systemic barriers to entry into their respective professions (Basran & Jong, 1998).

Although visible minorities tend to have a higher level of education, they are underrepresented in high-level occupations (Galabuzi, 2006). Visible minorities are also paid less than their White colleagues who work the same number of hours and have the same job specifications, and this is irrespective of their countries of birth (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). They also suffer differential treatment perpetrated by colleagues, employers and clients in the workplace (Al-Waqfi & Jain, 2008).

Racial discrimination has been shown to impact negatively on the housing experiences of visible minorities. It is contended that the skin color of visible minorities adversely affects their search for housing (Mensah & William, 2013). Audits also suggest that Blacks and First nations people suffer the most discrimination in seeking housing in Canada (Dion, 2001). Racial discrimination has been suggested to limit the housing options of visible minorities because they are forced to seek housing within their racial community and neighborhood in a bid to avoid discrimination (Dion, 2001). Visible minorities also encounter racial discrimination in the health sector. Existing studies report different types of discriminatory treatments received by visible minorities in assessing health care services, as well as its negative impact on health. Visible minorities perceive they are denied health services because of their race, and they also report accent discrimination when speaking English. They believe discrimination to be a barrier to accessing health care services (Pollock, Newbold, Lafreniere & Edge, 2011). Visible minorities also report perceived differential treatment by healthcare providers which they consider to be unfair (Johnson et al., 2009). Studies indicate that actual and perceived discrimination not only cause stress but also is associated with reduced mental health among racial and ethnic minority groups (Brown et al., 1999). Racial discrimination has also been found to be related to significant psychological distress and depression (Wei, Heppner, Ku, & Liao, 2010).

Racial Discrimination in Education

The government of any country has a human rights obligation to make education accessible and adaptable to all (Tomasevski, 1999). Although racially segregated schools have been dismantled and racial minorities have the freedom to attend any school of their choice, it appears that there is still a challenge in treating of all learners equally irrespective of their race or ethnicity. According to Henry & Tator (2009), racism still exists and is propagated in our colleges and universities. New reports suggest a pattern of racism across colleges and universities in Ontario (Final Report on Campus Racism, 2013). A task force on campus racism, an investigation conducted through seventeen public campus hearings and individual submissions across higher institutions in Ontario highlight many ways in which racism is present in schools and the structures in place that perpetuate racism. Some of these include offensive actions and comments passed in the classroom which disrupts the learning process and ruins the learning experience of visible minority students, and which mostly go unaddressed by the professors. The task force also uncovered a trend of students appearing at campus events in Black faces. At these events, White performers have their faces painted black to create and perpetuate racist stereotypes for the amusement of the White majority audience amongst others (Canadian federation of students, 2010).

A recent study by James (2017) utilized data from focus group sessions as well as the Toronto District School Board to provide a comprehensive picture of the educational experiences and outcomes of a subset of Black students in Canada's largest school district. The study found that 53% of black students were in academic programmes compared to 81% of white and 80% of other racialized students. Conversely, 39% of black students were enrolled in applied programs, compared to 18% of other racialized groups and 16% of white students. The study also pointed out that "educational streaming," process whereby students are grouped based on their ability, was supposed to have been stopped but data showed that black students were still being placed in essential and applied programs of study rather than academic courses, more than white and other students. It argued that 'black students faced an achievement and opportunity gap in GTA schools.' The study pointed out that anti-Black racism negatively affects the educational outcome of Black students, and urged Ontario education ministry to acknowledge that fact publicly (James, 2017).

A study by Grayson (1995) collected data through a survey of students at the beginning and towards the end of the semester to interrogate the extent which race affects both experiences and outcomes of first-year students at York University. The study found that some results of first-year experiences like grade point averages, self-assessed intellectual development, and knowledge as well as intention to return to the university vary by racial groups. However, the study also found that there exists equality in outcomes when race is brought into the picture. Therefore, no race has a worse treatment than the other in the school. The study also reiterated that this situation at York University concerning race could not be said to be typical of all Canadian universities (Grayson, 1995).

Besides, Black students' experiences with "everyday racism" was investigated by Swim et al. (2003). The study used a daily diary methodology that combined qualitative and quantitative elements, to capture less obvious experiences with everyday racism as soon after they occur as possible. The students reported experiencing verbal expressions of prejudice, bad service, and glaring difficulties in interpersonal exchanges. Study participants were not passive in the face of the reported experiences; the most commonly reported emotion in response to their described incidents of discrimination was anger. Experiences of racial discrimination were also reported by visible minority faculty members in the university. A qualitative study of 40 undergraduate and graduate South Asian students in a predominantly White Canadian university was also carried out by Samuel (2004). The study found that minority and mainstream students are given differential treatments which negatively affect the overall academic performance of minority students. Racism was also revealed to be prevalent among peers in the university and this according to the study is seen in everyday relationships between minority and the dominant group (Samuel, 2004).

Furthermore, Schroeter & James (2014) presents findings from a research project which investigated ways in which students with refugee background are being integrated into French Canadian schools. Critical race theory and literature about academic tracking were utilized in that study to analyze how the identity of French-speaking African born students who entered Canada as refugees, worked in linking their academic abilities with their race, language, immigration status and other life experiences. It revealed how specific programmes, which this group of students are mandated to undertake because they are Black, could result in “de facto streaming” along the lines of race, ethnicity amongst other experiences. This ultimately according to the work results in limited educational, occupational and other outcomes which worried the students.

Dei's (1995) work advocated for an “inclusive curriculum” in Canadian schools.” The article pointed out that minority students are dissatisfied with the fact that not all worlds’ experiences are represented in classroom discourses and texts as well as concerns over the absence of Black teachers and top school administrators. It emphasized that despite all the call for inclusive education, strategies for increased staff representation, curriculum diversity and inclusive schooling are yet to be completely implemented and achieved. It suggested a ‘non-hegemonic Afrocentric education’ as one means to address the educational needs of African Canadian students. “Afrocentricity” was defined as the study of “phenomena grounded in the perspectives and epistemological constructs of people of African descent” (Dei, 1995).

Also, Ogbu (1992) argued that the major approaches recommended in the school reform movement one of which is multicultural education do not effectively address the challenges faced by visible minorities who are having difficulties in schools. He identified the types of minority status as autonomous, voluntary and involuntary minorities and argued that acknowledging this classification is necessary for an understanding of cultural diversity and learning. The article described autonomous minorities as being only minority in numbers citing Jews and Amish as examples. Voluntary minorities were also referred to by the article as immigrants who move to a country for better life opportunities while involuntary minorities were explained as individuals who were brought into a country against their own free will and after that denied assimilation into mainstream society. It contended that voluntary minorities encounter initial problems with language, culture and the western education system in school. However, these challenges do not last for too long, as they achieve academic success at the end. Involuntary minorities, on the other hand, were identified as the group that usually experience more and ongoing problems with school learning. It further argued that the vital issue of cultural diversity and learning is the relationship between visible minorities and the dominant culture and this should be taken into consideration in any meaningful effort to address these needs.

Furthermore, a study by Cummins (1997) interrogated how much Ogbu's (1978, 1992) differences between voluntary and involuntary minorities can be utilized to explain the educational achievement data of African Canadians, Francophones, and aboriginals. He argued that while some of the Canadian data conform to the predictions derived from Ogbu's work, others do not fit into that pattern. Some involuntary minorities fare well in school, and vice versa and the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy does not explain it. It concluded that although Ogbu's concept does not explain the "overall pattern" of the Canadian data, it is significant when interpreted as a theoretical construct that emphasizes essential ways in which the power relations operative in the broader society are also present in the school system.

Moreover, Samuel & Wane (2005) utilized a qualitative study to explore the experiences of nine women of color in a predominately white academic environment to explore the experiences that minority faculty undergo in the course of their jobs and lives as members of visible minority groups. It was found that Academics in the minority group perceive racism as permeating many aspects of academic life including evaluation, curriculum design, administrative support and mainstream student reactions (Samuel & Wane, 2005). Evidence also suggests that visible minority faculty experience sexism and racism in academic environments (Samuel & Wane, 2005). Furthermore, school leaders' perception of racism has also been investigated. In Ryan's (2003) study, qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to examine educational administrators' perceptions of racism in diverse school contexts. The study was carried out as part of a broader four-year inquiry into how principals dealt with the challenges associated with different ethnic groups and cultures in schools. The study found that many principals were reluctant to admit that racism occurred in their schools. Also, those who acknowledged it emphasized that it was insignificant.

Discrimination in Employment

Racial discrimination in employment has been explained to include lack of access to jobs, differential rewards and outcomes in the labor market and perceptions of discrimination (Banerjee, 2008 cited in George & Chaze, 2014). Galabuzi (2006) asserts that racialized groups or visible minorities are two or three times more likely to be poor than other Canadians. This 'unequal exposure' to poverty among visible minorities was termed by the study as "racialization of poverty." According to Galabuzi (2006), despite higher levels of education, visible minority groups whom he refers to as racialized groups are more likely to be unemployed or employed in "precarious work." "Precarious work", as explained by the study are, "jobs that have limited social benefits, poor statutory entitlement, job insecurity and low wages amongst other disadvantages" (Galabuzi, 2006).

There is a general perception among African Canadians that their continent of origin and the racist stereotypes that it engenders limit their employment opportunities (Tettey, 2001). It has also been asserted by Pendakur & Pendakur (1988) that African immigrants like most minority immigrants suffer significant penalties in Canada. Africans and Asians also suffer the most in income inequality (Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996). There are significant earning gaps between African born immigrants and their Canadian born counterparts, and this occurs even when the minority have a higher qualification than their Canadian born counterparts (Tettey, 2005).

Oreopoulos (2009) compared the number of interviews elicited by resumes with Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and British sounding last names. The study sent out thousands of resumes which were constructed to represent immigrants and non-immigrants with and without ethnic sounding names. Toronto or a foreign city were also randomly assigned to the countries where applicants received their degrees. The study found that when education and experience are held constant, interview rates were 40% higher for applicants with an English-sounding name than for those with other names. It also concluded that there is considerable discrimination against applicants with ethnic names and foreign credentials that affect immigrant work opportunities. Additionally, Oreopoulos & DeChief, (2012) made use of findings from Oreopoulos (2009) as an introduction to ask recruiters and human resource professionals to discuss why they believe that name discrimination occurs in the labor market. Data from email questionnaires were also collected. The majority response received was that employers treat a name as a signal that an applicant may not have the language and social requirements necessary to be successful at the job. The study suggested that immigrants' chances and success in the labor market can be improved if a way of concealing the names of applicants and at the same time, knowing their foreign language sufficiency can be devised.

A recent study by George & Chaze (2014) compared an online survey of 300 foreign-trained engineers and another survey of 200 locally-trained engineers in Toronto with the aim of understanding whether the race of a person or his/her foreign training influenced the type of discrimination that is experienced by them. The study found that among the foreign-trained engineers, visible minorities were more likely to perceive discrimination at work. It also found that many locally trained engineers had found work in the engineering field (61%) compared to the foreign trained engineers (33%). The study contended that a major area of concern for visible minorities in Canada is the policy in many organizations that a job applicant must have "Canadian work experience." Hiring practices in Canada also depend on professional references, and this discriminates against both newcomers to the country and visible minority graduates from Canadian universities who might not have the required experience and professional network (George & Chaze, 2014).

The study pointed out that the requirement for Canadian work experience and references only serve the purpose of excluding visible minorities from the initial application, how much more securing the jobs in question. The study emphasized the need to address these barriers facing immigrants searching for employment in Canada (George & Chaze, 2014).

Furthermore, Basran & Jong (1998) utilized data from surveys to analyze the difficulties that visible minority professionals trained outside of Canada experience in the labor market. It was suggested by that research that visible minority professional immigrants perceive that they face systemic barriers to their entry into their respective professions. The study found that irrespective of the fact that 88% of professional immigrants who participated in the study had professional jobs in their various countries of origin, only 19% of them were able to work professionally in Canada. Most of them complained that the government, professional and educational bodies do not reasonably recognize the credentials of foreign-trained professionals. They also believed that speaking English as a second language, and their racial and ethnic background were responsible for this experience. The study advocated for a fair evaluation of foreign-trained professionals so that the country can harness the knowledge and experience that diversity brings to a place (Basran & Jong, 1998).

Also, Li's study (2000) used the Public Use Microdata File on Individuals of the 1996 Census of Canada to investigate whether foreign degrees have a lower market worth than Canadian degrees and whether immigrants with Canadian degrees have equal earning with native-born degree holders. The study constructed four types of degree holders namely: native-born degree holders, immigrant Canadian-degree holders, immigrant mixed education holders and immigrant foreign degree-holders. It revealed that immigrants were more likely than native-born Canadians to be degree-holders. The study also found that immigrants' credentials negatively affect the earnings of visible minority women and men more than white women and men. It further highlighted the existence of a clear earning disadvantage for immigrant, foreign degree-holders who are visible minority women (Li, 2000).

A study by Pendakur & Pendakur (1998), analyzed the earning differentials between whites, aboriginals and visible minorities, and earning differentials within the white and visible-minority groups using data from the 1991 PUMF for individuals, a 3% sample of the Canadian population. It found that immigrant visible-minority males earn much less than Canadian-born white males. It also found that although Immigrant white women show higher average earnings than Canadian-born white women, immigrant visible minority women show lower earnings than Canadian-born white women. Specifically, immigrant and aboriginal women earn on average \$2000-\$3000 less than Canadian-born women.

After controlling for differences such as occupation, experience, and others, substantial earning gaps between ethnic groups were still present. The study asserted that despite having Canadian credentials and being socialized in Canada, “visible minorities born in Canada face substantial earning penalties” (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998).

Moreover, Hou & Coulombe’s (2010) study analyzed the earning differential between Canadian-born visible minorities and whites in public and private sectors utilizing data from the 2006 census. The study conducted separate analyses for Blacks, Chinese and South Asians who accounted for over two-thirds of the total employed visible minority workforce in Canada in 2006. It found that visible minorities had a much higher educational achievement than whites. Specifically, in 2005, about 58% of visible minority men and 61% of visible minority women in the public sector had university degrees. Only 42% of White men and 39% of White women had university degrees. In the private sector, about 33% of visible minority men and 38% of visible minority women had university degrees in comparison with Whites who had 15% for men and 16% for women. The study also found that visible minority women earned more than White women in the private sector except for Black women who earned less than Whites in both the private and public sectors. Visible minorities and Whites receive similar remuneration for similar jobs in the public sector while visible minority men and Black women earn significantly less in the private sector.

Besides, Hum & Simpson (1999) carried out an analysis of wage differentials for different visible minority groups in Canada based on the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID). The study found that except for Black men, there is no significant wage gap between visible minority and non-visible minority group membership for native-born workers. Issues of wage differential and consequently differential wage gap for visible minorities also only arose among immigrants. Among immigrants, a wage disadvantage for visible minority men relative to other men was found. The study recommended that following the finding of a significant wage differential between Blacks and other Canadians, there should be more research on African-Canadian visible minority group and their experiences in the labor market (Hum & Simpson, 1999).

The effect of “everyday racism” on the occupations of African-Canadian women was examined by Beagan & Etowa (2009) using in-depth interviews and standardized instruments. The purpose of the study was to explore the extent to which these women experienced racism and the ways they perceived it to affect them. Majority of the women experienced racism in public places such as restaurants and stores.

They narrated incidents where they were ignored and overlooked at the counters to serve other customers and treated disrespectfully. They also reported being monitored and followed around in stores, and this was the most common experience. The study recognized the narrated experiences which are few of the “trivial” events that constitute everyday racism. The women who reported experiencing not much racism were either unemployed, self-employed, worked at home or worked in all-Black workplaces. However, this group of women still encountered racism in public places. The study found that everyday racism had subtle, almost intangible impacts moulding women’s engagement with their occupations, leisure, and other activities.

Al-Waqfi & Jain (2008) conducted a quantitative analysis of the nature and trends of racial discrimination in Canada using data from a batch of 119 legal cases published in the Canadian Human Rights Reporter between 1980 and 1999. The study found that 76% of the cases were related to racial discrimination after hiring also referred to as “treatment discrimination.” Most of these complaints of discrimination were brought by ‘white-collar’ employees. Majority of the cases were also brought by male complainants, and the complaints were mostly against supervisors. Education and training were recommended as part of the solution to curbing bias and lack of understanding that cause racial discrimination (Al-Waqfi & Jain, 2008). Theories have been advanced on reasons for racial discrimination and especially in employment. Arrow’s (1998) study developed the theory of statistical discrimination, which is an information-based theory. According to this theory, employers rely on group membership, and this acts as a marker that enables them to predict a potential employees' ability to perform efficiently. There is also the human capital and social capital theory which promotes the belief that unending racial discrimination is as a result of differences in the characteristics of workers from different races, ranging from education and training to experience (Arrow, 1998). Besides, Al-Waqfi & Jain (2008) suggest that racial discrimination could be as a result of prejudiced attitudes, as well as cultural differences. It could also be due to an anticipated lack of productivity, differences in language and interpersonal communication styles (Al-Waqfi & Jain, 2008).

Racial Discrimination in Housing

Housing Discrimination has been explained to include any practice, behavior, and policy in the public and private sectors which cause disadvantage or harm through inequitable access to and enjoyment of housing by members of the historically disadvantaged group either directly or indirectly (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) & Novac, 2002). Existing literature has identified the common types of discrimination in the context of housing.

These discriminatory acts include denial of housing to an individual or family belonging to a racial minority group, charging certain people higher rents or prices for housing, applying more stringent or inappropriate criteria to some individuals and giving differential treatment to residents (CMHC & Novac, 2002). Besides, it is asserted that members of visible minority groups in comparison to the dominant group are most likely to have worse jobs, lower income, experience indignities and live in less desirable areas (Marger, 2008; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nabal, & Torino, 2007). Audits also suggest that Blacks and First nations people suffer the most discrimination in seeking housing in Canada (Dion, 2001).

Mensah & Williams (2013) investigated the role of culture in shaping the housing experiences of new immigrants in Canada. According to the study, the question of whether housing is adequate, suitable or even affordable is not merely a socio-economic issue but also a cultural one. It found that Ghana and Somali immigrants in Toronto face many housing challenges some of which concern matters of racial discrimination. It also emphasized that racism remain a worrisome matter in Black African pursuit of housing (Mensah & Williams, 2013). A study by Teixeira (2008), examined the housing experiences of three African immigrant groups in Toronto's rental market using a questionnaire survey which consisted of closed and open-ended questions. Respondents reported that landlords in Toronto's rental housing market either lie by not providing full and correct information to them about vacancies and prices or merely refuse to rent to them by using strategies that would discourage them from renting such as asking for extra money than required. The study revealed that the skin color of this group of people adversely affects their housing search irrespective of whether the feeling is 'perceived' or 'real.'

Immigrants' perception of housing discrimination in Toronto was also investigated by Dion (2001). Respondents from three immigrant communities- Jamaicans, Poles, and Somalis- indicated how much discrimination they perceived individually and as a group. Jamaican and Somali immigrants reported greater perceived discrimination than Polish immigrants. The quantitative study which was conducted using surveys emphasized the importance of assessing both personal and group discrimination in surveys of perceived discrimination since they predict different criteria. The study also pointed out that foreign and native-born visible minorities often precluded being discriminated against by seeking to house within their ethnic community neighborhoods and by relying on people from their race as landlords. Visible minorities income level and source of income were also identified as important factors underlying the housing discrimination they perceived.

Furthermore, Hulchanski (1997) examined the role of 'race,' gender and social class in the "dynamics of housing access" using a qualitative study. The study identified "primary" and "secondary" barriers that affect housing access for recent immigrants in the Toronto area. Primary barriers were defined as those barriers resulting from the social use of a person's profile which are most times impossible to change, and examples include race and ethnicity. Secondary barriers were also explained to refer to features of a person's profile which can be changed over time, and examples of this include the level of income; source of income; knowledge of the housing system; language/accent; experience with the dominant institutions and culture. The study reported negative stereotypes, bias, and ethnocentrism as common factors that affect immigrant's access to housing (Hulchanski, 1997). Barriers to equal access in Toronto's rental housing market were also examined by Hulchanski (1993). The work asserts that racial discrimination exists in the rental market just as it is present in the Canadian society. Discrimination here it is argued, takes the form of refusal of access to housing units with the intention of reducing the number, type, and location of options available to specific groups. Specific groups are also charged higher rent money sometimes as a way of ensuring that they do not get the units. The study found that the irregularities in Toronto's rental market result in insufficient options for tenants and this makes it very easy for recent immigrants, visible minorities and women to be discriminated against by those who have the power to do so in the housing market (Hulchanski, 1993).

Effects of Racial Discrimination on Health

Racism and racial discrimination not only shape individuals' social experiences, but they also have a tremendous impact on their lives. Perceived discrimination may lead to a diminished performance in education and the labor market, and this consequently leads to adverse outcomes (Ogbu, 1991; Steele, 1997). There are studies which have interrogated the effect of racial discrimination on the health of its victims. Paradies (2006) carried out a systematic review of 138 quantitative population-based studies of self-reported racism and health. Studies reviewed showed an association between self-reported racism and ill health. Specifically, a strong association was found between racism and negative mental health outcomes of which 72 percent of the adverse health outcomes were associated with self-reported racism.

Brondolo et al. (2008) assessed the association of perceived racism to trait and daily negative effect which is a risk factor for impaired mental and physical health using a quantitative research method. It hypothesized that impact of racism on negative mood would remain significant even when controlling for personal characteristics and socioeconomic status that are known to have a link to racism and negative effect. The cross-sectional study showed that perceived racism was positively associated with daily anger, nervousness, and sadness.

The relationship of perceived racism to negative effect was moderated by education; it was more favorable for those with a less than high school education. Racism was found to have negative psychological and physical health consequences (Brondolo et.al., 2008).

Etowa, Wiens, Bernard, & Clow (2007) interrogated the health status, health-care delivery, and use of health services among African Canadian women in rural Nova Scotia, from the perspectives of both community members and academic researchers using a participatory action research approach. Data for the study was generated through a combination of interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires. The study identified race and racism, poverty and unemployment, and access to healthcare as factors affecting Black women's health. Aspects of racism were found to have a significant impact on women's health. They include lack of information relating to the health needs of Black people, the lack of culturally-sensitive healthcare providers, and the lack of culturally relevant outreach programs. The study found that Black women face many of the health challenges that are encountered by individuals living in remote areas, and they suffer even more because of racial discrimination and lack of culturally competent care.

The mental health consequence of racial discrimination was investigated by Brown et al. (1999), using a quantitative research design. The study found that actual and perceived discrimination not only cause stress but also are associated with reduced mental health among racial and ethnic minority groups. It also found that discrimination was related to significant psychological distress and depression. The study revealed that subjective reports of racial discrimination lead to poor mental health, but adverse mental health does not result in increased reports of racial discrimination. It was also pointed out that the perception of racial discrimination was invariably related to psychological distress (Brown et al., 1999).

A strong connection was also established between perceived racial discrimination and mental health by Wei, Heppner, Ku, & Liao (2010). The study examined the association between racial discrimination, stress and depressive symptoms using an online survey. In this study, Perceived Stress Scale was used to measure the general perception of stress. Perceived discrimination and stress were assessed by the Perceived Discrimination subscale of the Acculturative Stress Scale for International Students, and Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Mood Scale was used to measure depressive symptoms. The study found that stress from racial discrimination was significantly related to depressive symptoms after controlling for perceived general stress and perceived discrimination. It asserted that racial discrimination stress is an important construct by itself and deserves further research (Wei, Heppner, Ku, & Liao, 2010).

Also, Harrell (2000) examined the conceptualization of racism-related stress and its impact on well-being. It suggested six types of racism-related stress: racism-related life events, common racism experiences, daily racism micro-stressors, chronic contextual stress, collective experiences of racism and the transgenerational transmission of group traumas. The work reiterates that racism is a source of stress for individuals who experience it. It states that Racism related stress has been associated with health problems such as hypertension and cardiovascular reactivity. Racism is also associated with depression and general psychological distress. The study contends that racism is “pathogenic” concerning various physical and mental health issues (Harrell, 2000).

Noh et al. (1999) tested hypotheses regarding the association between perceived discrimination and depression using a qualitative study. The study used data from the third wave survey of the Refugee Resettlement Project, and it evaluated the psychological, economic, and social adaptation of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. The research was for a decade and the second follow-up interview was conducted ten years after the first one. The study provided empirical evidence on the link between discrimination and depression. It found that exposure to discrimination is associated with high levels of depressive symptoms and this association was unaffected when sociodemographic factors were included in the model (Noh et.al., 1999).

Furthermore, a study by Combs et al. (2006) utilized a quantitative research method to examine the relationship between perceived racism and paranoia in a sample of 128 African American students using the perceived racism scale, paranoia scale, self-consciousness scale amongst other scales. The study found a clear relationship between perceived racism and measures reflecting cultural mistrust and nonclinical paranoia. Perceived racism was also found to be related to high levels of anger and hostility and the likelihood to blame others for adverse outcomes in complex situations. The study asserts that the finding that perceived racism was predictive of cultural mistrust and nonclinical paranoia provides firm support for the remarkable role of perceived racism in paranoia.

Besides, Soto, Dawson-Andoh, & BeLue (2011) examined the relationship between the frequency of race-based discrimination experiences and Generalized Anxiety Disorder in a sample of African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans and non-Hispanic Whites from National Survey of American Life using questionnaires. The quantitative study found that racial discrimination was a significant predictor of generalized anxiety disorder for African Americans. The study argues that this finding highlights the subtle nature of racism and discrimination considering that all types of racial discrimination experiences were associated with increased risk for specific mental health disorders.

It found that significant experiences of racial discrimination were associated with lifetime generalized anxiety disorder while everyday experiences of racism are associated with 12-month generalized anxiety disorder.

There also exist numerous international studies linking racism with mental and physical health. These studies have found racism to be connected to hypertension, heart disease, and respiratory conditions (Kelaher et al., 2008; Larson et al., 2007; Brondolo et al., 2003; Harris et al., 2006).

Racial Discrimination in Healthcare Services

Immigrants and members of visible minority groups report differential and discriminatory treatment in the provision of services by the dominant White group. Study participants identified and reported different types of discriminatory treatments received by them in assessing health care services in a study by Pollock, Newbold, Lafreniere & Edge (2011). The types of discrimination reported by participants suggest a connection between newcomer status and discrimination based on race, gender, ethnicity, type of accent, language, religion and sexual orientation. Some participants felt they were denied service because they belong to a visible minority group and the agency's health and mental health professionals did not know how to treat women from other countries. Some of them also reported accent discrimination when speaking English. They saw this not only as a barrier to accessing health care but also as a source of discriminatory behavior on the part of healthcare providers (Pollock, Newbold, Lafreniere & Edge, 2011).

Moreover, Wu, Penning & Schimmele (2005) also examined immigrant status and their unmet health care needs. The study compared whether "unmet health needs of immigrants and non-immigrants were different and the possible reasons for the differences. It also examined whether help-seeking behaviors explain unmet needs differences. This study was a quantitative study using data from the Canadian Community Health Survey Cycle 1.1, conducted by Statistics Canada in 2000-2001. Study results found differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in reasons for unmet needs. More immigrants believed that they would not be properly cared for by service providers, they also encountered language barrier and did not have the information they needed on how to access health services. The study argued that the Canadian health care system deliver sufficient health care to immigrants; however, it also acknowledged that some "immigrant- specific health care access barriers might exist.

Furthermore, systemic barriers to health care access experienced by Canada's refugee populations was explored by Mckeary (2010).

The study used a series of semi-structured, in-depth interviews to capture the perceptions of key professionals in the social service and health fields in Hamilton. Identified barriers faced by this group include language, cultural competency, health care coverage, availability of services, isolation, poverty, and transportation. The study also found that refugees faced more barriers than those who enter the country as other classes of immigrants. It called for culturally competent care on the part of providers, together with interpretation services as vital for working with this group of immigrants. The study also suggested sensitivity training on the part of healthcare professionals as well as hiring professionals who share clients' ethnicity or language as well as developing interpretation services.

A study by Johnson et al. (2009) employed a qualitative research method to explore the relationship between healthcare providers and South Asian immigrant women to describe "othering" and the impact it has on its victims. Othering, as defined by the study, "is a process that identifies those that are thought to be different from oneself or the mainstream, and this can reinforce and reproduce positions of domination and subordination." Data from health care professionals revealed how perceptions of South Asian women determined the way health care services be provided to them. The study identified forms of othering from participants' narratives of the treatments they received which they considered to be unfair. It also revealed that individual interactions are influenced by social and institutional contexts that create conditions for 'othering' practices (Johnson et. al., 2009).

Moreover, Spitzer (2004) used Essed's (1991) concept of 'everyday racism' to demonstrate how some of the experiences encountered by visible minority women were perceived to be racial discrimination. This study which was carried out in a large culturally diverse city examined the hospital childbirth experiences of visible minority women as well as their interactions with nursing staff. As a result of structural reforms in the healthcare sector, nursing staff finds it difficult to deliver the level of care and attention which visible minority women require during their stay at the hospital. The reforms as identified by the study include increased workload shared among few workers amongst others. This group of women sensing the nurses' inattention to them is forced to interpret this behavior within the context of history and racism commonly faced by visible minorities in the Canadian society. Both the visible minority women and nurses shared the perception that health care reform has contributed and worsened inequitable care for marginalized women (Spitzer, 2004).

Vissandjee, Weinfeld, Dupere & Abdool (2001) explored the potential of "matching" process at various levels in health services to achieve a "culturally competent and gender-sensitive" health care. The three levels explored in the study were "micro-level," "meso-level" and "macro-level" matching.

The study explained micro level matching as the interaction between the individual and her healthcare provider while meso- and macro- level matching deal with administrative, policy, and program issues that promote practices which are culturally suitable for clients. Matching was also explained in the study to refer to “shared identities between users and personal or institutional providers of services, or between researchers and study participants.” It was argued that the more actors have in common, the better they can assess their needs. Ethnicity was identified as one of the crucial areas for matching. The study further advocated for the need to make general and specifically immigrant, health research and practice traditions sensitive to ethnicity and gender as these are critical areas that affect the quality of care received by many Canadians

Settlement Barriers

Studies indicate that visible minorities encounter difficulties in settling into the Canadian society. A recent study by Lu et al. (2015) employed a mixed method design to assess the integration experiences of Asian immigrants in Saskatoon with the purpose of contributing to immigration literature in smaller cities. Some of the immigrants in the study indicated significant barriers to achieving a good quality of life. They reported under-employment and lacked job security. The study found that English language proficiency is a significant barrier to economic integration leading to perceptions of low quality of life for these individuals. It also found that although some of the government initiatives to attract immigrants and help them integrate into the society are successful, more assistance is needed to match immigrants with appropriate employment. The study also revealed that most of the immigrants show a firm determination to integrate into mainstream society despite the hurdles that they encounter (Lu et.al., 2015).

Furthermore, Simich, Beiser, Stewart & Mwakarimba (2005) carried out a qualitative study of 137 service providers and policy makers in health and immigrant settlement to examine the settlement challenges faced by immigrants and visible minorities in Toronto, Vancouver, and Edmonton. The study identified one of the significant problems encountered by immigrants to be confusion on how to access the services and resources that they need. The study also found that social support is crucial to immigrant settlement and also impact positively on immigrant health. Discrimination in employment and education was also identified as a settlement barrier facing immigrants and visible minorities. Systemic issues such as limited resources, lack of integration of policies and programs and narrow service mandate were identified as factors that hinder the provision of immigrants’ needs.

The meaning of “social support” which has been identified as invaluable to immigrant settlement was explored by Stewart et al. (2008) through a qualitative study. Social support was given different definitions by the study as it means different things to various people. It was defined by the study as “formal support from Canadian government or informal support from friends and family.” Some also defined it as any form of assistance. It included financial, psychological, and moral support. The study further identified some challenges which immigrants and visible minorities encounter and for which social support is required. These identified challenges include language difficulties, employment, navigating the system, disrupted family dynamics, and discrimination amongst others.

Stereotyping

The representation of the African continent in the past and present has an impact on their ascribed identity. They could not escape from their race even if they wanted to because their identity in mainstream society is largely related to where they come from (Tettey & Puplampi, 2005). It is easy to categorize individuals based on their physical attributes, and this usually manifests in stereotyping. Stereotypes are judgments of people based on an individual's age, race, ethnicity and skin color, and ascribing to them attributes learned from the society early in life (Peter, 1998). Stereotypes are often used without realizing it because it is believed to be a shortcut to thinking. For instance, Paris terrorist attackers were Asians and Muslims therefore, all Asians and Muslims are terrorists. It is unlikely that all members of a racial group share the same character or pattern of behavior; therefore, stereotyping makes for an unfair generalization (Peter, 1998). Stereotypes have been created about visible minorities that portray them as lazy and criminals (Henry & Tator, 2002). It is argued that not only do the media not always objectively report their facts; they report facts based on their pre-conceived beliefs or the prevailing beliefs (Henry & Tator, 2002). When generalizations are applied to groups, it can lead to baseless assumptions which ignore the diversity that every individual in the society brings. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the problem inherent in Canada's Multiculturalism Policy is that the policy does not directly address the underlying “attitudinal basis” which is racism that causes structural inequalities in access to media, employment, and negative representation of visible minorities (Ojo, 2016).

News and Social media appear not to be blameless in propagating these stereotypes. A recent study by Ojo (2016) investigated the role of ethnic media in the country within the context of Canada's multicultural policy using a case study of 'Montreal Community Contact, an ethnic newspaper of the Black community in Montreal. The substantial body of literature on media representation of Blacks and other visible minorities show intentional racism in the media's treatment of these groups of people.

The study acknowledged that notwithstanding the provisions of the 1991 Canadian Broadcasting Act which states that “the media organizations should show the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada in their coverage” (Fleras, 1995:407), Blacks and other visible minorities in Canada are often portrayed negatively by mainstream media. This “distortion” and marginalization of Blacks achieve the purpose of making them feel like outsiders within Canada. Tator & Henry’s (2000) study, critically examined the ideologies that are at the core of discourses on race, crime and policing disseminated by the media and other public authorities. It also provides a critical analysis of race as it affects the Black community as well as other visible minorities by examining two hundred and fifty articles from Ontario on-line newspapers. The work found that “the discourses of the Canadian mass media, whether consciously or unconsciously present a view of the world that serve to stigmatize whole communities of people based on their ethnicity and skin color” (Henry & Tator, 2000:9).

A study by Szuchewycz (2000) utilized critical discourse analysis to examine the federally commissioned survey of Canadian attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in The Globe and Mail. The study contended that The Globe and Mail avoided the use of specific and important words like ‘race’ and ‘racism’ and instead substituted them with words like ‘intolerance’ which doesn’t depict the exact nature of racism. The analysis carried out by the news media was also found to be incomplete, and the study contended that the specific function of it was to construct an interpretation which denies racism, thereby “reproducing and maintaining the myth of Canadian tolerance”.

Kawakami and his colleagues (1998) used an experimental procedure consisting of two different phases to investigate how individual differences and perspectives on racial prejudice and personal stereotypes are related to the activation of black stereotypes. The study found that high prejudiced participants demonstrated black stereotype activation both under conditions designed to permit conscious control of responses and conditions designed to preclude conscious control. Low prejudiced participants, on the other hand, showed no systematic facilitation of Black stereotypic words in either condition. Furthermore, personal endorsements for these stereotypes differed between high and low prejudiced participants. Although both groups showed significant stereotypic associations for Blacks, the effect was substantially stronger for high prejudiced participants. The study also recognized that automatic stereotype activation may not always be avoidable for some people (Kawakami, Dion & Dovidio, 1998).

Racial Identity and Perceived Discrimination

Race, ethnicity, and language are part of the subjective ways in which we make sense of our lives, where we are located and speak from as well as interpersonal interactions and life experiences (Norquay, 1993). Racial Identity is the importance and meaning that Blacks ascribe to race in defining themselves (Sellers et al., 1998). Racial identity has been emphasized as very important in the overall framework of individual and collective identity (Chavez & DiBrito, 1999). Existing literature in North America has examined racial/ethnic identity and its effect on the consequences of racial discrimination.

The importance of racial identity was examined by Jaret & Reitzes (1999), using data from a national random sample of adults contacted by telephone. This study examined the significance of racial-ethnic identity for self-concept and comparing the importance of racial-ethnic identity at home, at work, in public, and in the neighborhood. The study found that Blacks are a lot more likely to view racial identity as being essential to their self-concept than Whites or multiracials. It also found that people who feel they have a high social status are more likely to perceive their racial-ethnic identity as being important for them than people of low social status. Furthermore, racial identity varies by social setting for Blacks; it is of more importance in their work environment and the least important when they are at home. The importance of racial identity also changes with a difference in the racial composition of the local area. The study found that blacks who live in areas that have an “intermediate” percentage of Blacks perceive their racial identity to be more significant to them than do Blacks living in areas with “low” population of Blacks and “high” population of Blacks (Jaret & Reitzes, 1999).

Moreover, ethnic identity was identified as a buffer of psychological adjustment to stress by Shelton et al. (2005). The paper explained how this happens by discussing the results of two programs of research which investigated the protective role of ethnic identity among adolescents and racial centrality as a buffer against racial discrimination. It contended that although individuals who identify with an ethnic group may be at risk of suffering racial discrimination with its psychological aftermath, ethnic identity cushions individual from these consequences. The work also suggested that a particular type of ethnic identity provide their members with coping strategies to racial discrimination and this makes them feel good by focusing on the positive features of their racial group (Shelton et al., 2005).

The effect of dimensions of racial identity on perceptions of discrimination by Blacks was analyzed by Sellers & Shelton (2003). The research was a longitudinal study of Black students from three predominately White universities. It specifically investigated the relationship between “racial centrality, racial ideology, and racial regard.”

The study also examined the psychological consequences of perceived racial discrimination and the extent to which dimensions of racial identity moderate the impact. It found that group identification is positively associated with perceived racial discrimination. The study also found that common perception of racial discrimination results in negative psychological outcomes including psychological distress. Perceived discrimination was revealed to have negative effects on Blacks not only at the time of the event but also after the experience (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

A study by Dion, Dion & Pak (1992), also carried out a quantitative study to examine the effect of racism on the victims' identity. This study was carried out by the use of questionnaires that measured "hardiness" using a combination of "perceived personal control and "self-esteem." The study found that experience of racial discrimination was associated with psychological difficulties in the proper operation of an individual. It also found that victims of racial discrimination who were less resilient experienced more psychological symptoms than those who were very resilient. Resilience/hardiness was associated with positive factors likely to facilitate successful "coping" and "adaptation" such as higher level of education, higher proficiency with English amongst other factors. Experiences of racial discrimination were discovered to elicit stronger and better feeling about victims' racial identity (Dion et al., 1992).

In addition to examining the extent to which racial minorities define themselves in terms of their race, studies have explored the effect of racial identity on attributions to racial discriminations. Outten, Giguere, Schmitt, & Lalonde (2010), employed a quantitative research method to analyze how the various aspects of racial identity for Blacks, affected attributions to racial discrimination in two situations where members of negatively stereotyped groups had difficulty in interpreting feedback. The study found that racial identity beliefs by individuals who feel that their racial group is different and unique in the experiences they encounter are more likely to attribute outcomes to racial discrimination.

Coping Strategies Employed by Visible Minorities

Identity has been investigated concerning coping mechanisms employed by victims of perceived discrimination in dealing with their experiences. Kuo (1995) suggests culture as a factor in determining coping mechanisms adopted by individuals who experience racial discrimination. Existing research is suggestive that visible minorities opt for a passive mode of reacting to discrimination; they are less likely to engage in verbal and other kinds of confrontation (Noh, Beiser, Hou and Kaspar, 1998; Kuo 1995). Specifically, studies suggest that culture is influential in the coping mechanism of Blacks (Parks, 1998).

Existing studies have also analyzed other coping mechanisms employed by visible minorities to buffer the effect of racial discrimination. Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, & Hou (1999) utilized a qualitative method to examine the association between perceived racial discrimination, ethnic identity, depression and coping among Asian refugee visible minorities in Canada. It found a significant association between perceived discrimination and depressive symptoms. The study also suggested that perceived discrimination had an impact on the mental health of refugees. However, those refugees employed 'forbearance' which is a coping mechanism, together with their culture to cope effectively with the psychological aftermath of racial discrimination. The study found no association between racial discrimination and racial identity; however, it found that individuals who held a strong ethnic identity felt the impact of racial discrimination more if they did not use 'forbearance' coping mechanism. It also found that neither forbearance nor confrontation was an effective coping strategy for those who did not identify with ethnic values and practices.

Besides, Joseph & Kuo (2009) examined the strategies employed by black Canadians to cope with racial discrimination by utilizing a quantitative study of 190 African Canadians in a university in Ontario. Results of the study indicated that African Canadians employ a wide range of coping strategies including problem-solving, debriefing, spiritual-based, collective and ritual-based methods or Afri-cultural strategies to cope with racial discrimination. The study also found that black Canadians' adoption of a particular coping mechanism depends on the nature of the racial discrimination. When faced with interpersonal discrimination, African Canadians used the spiritual-centered method of coping the most, followed by ritual-centered coping and then collective coping and emotional debriefing. Problem-solving was the least preferred for them in this category. In coping with institutional discrimination, the study found that black Canadians use problem-solving coping most, followed by spiritual-centered coping, emotional debriefing, collective coping, and ritual-centered coping. The study also found that problem solving coping, followed by emotional debriefing coping, collective coping, spiritual-centered coping, and ritual-centered coping were preferred by African Canadians when responding to racial discrimination.

Specific coping methods have also been reviewed to identify their significance among different racial groups in North America. Kuo (2012) examined existing theoretical, empirical, and psychometric research on collective coping from a "culturally informed and cross-cultural perspective." Collective coping was defined as "a set of coping responses born out of the collective and relational norms of a cultural group." It has been found to make an individual ask for help from members of their racial group in a way that maintains understanding and support amongst them. The findings of this review indicate that there is growing evidence across studies, emphasizing the prominence of collective coping patterns among Asians, and African Americans/Canadians (Kuo, 2012).

Need for More Studies in Smaller Canadian Cities

Based on census records, it is apparent that most immigrants and visible minorities choose to settle in Canada's metropolitan cities. According to the 2016 census data on immigration released by Statistics Canada, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver attracted most of Canada's new immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016). This concentration of new immigrants and visible minorities in the bigger cities may be a reason why most studies focus on visible minorities in Canada's metropolitan cities. Chen (2004) conducted an ethnic study of the Chinese in Canada in small cities like Peterborough, Ontario. It was asserted there that the Chinese as a visible minority group and their ethnic relations with the white majority in small urban cities had not received much academic scrutiny (Chen, 2004). This finding is an indication that there is a need for more studies on visible minorities in the smaller Canadian cities.

It has been emphasized that because visible minorities are multiplying in numbers, there is an urgent and vital need to address the problems they face as racial groups. Failure to meet and resolve these needs will only give rise to more tension between them and the White majority group (Oliver, 1998). The problems these visible minorities face can be examined and analyzed through more studies so that possible and practical strategies and solutions can be feasible.

Summary

The studies reviewed in this chapter have summarised the broad themes in existing literature relating to race relations. Many of the literature reviewed identified issues of racial discrimination in the context of education, housing, interpersonal relations, employment and provision of healthcare services. This chapter on literature review includes studies on the effects of racial discrimination on its victims and the identified health consequences. Existing literature on racial identity and attribution to racism were reviewed, and it showed the importance that African Canadians attach to their race. Existing studies on settlement barriers experienced by new visible minority immigrants revealed that new immigrants encounter numerous obstacles, which include confusion on how to assess the services and resources that they need. This chapter also reviewed existing literature on coping strategies employed by visible minorities, and they revealed that African-Canadians were less likely to employ verbal and other types of open confrontation as coping methods. Existing studies which focus on only African Canadians are limited; therefore, the researcher had to use studies on other visible minority groups to enable a better understanding of the topic under study.

Existing literature show that African Canadians have mostly shared negative experiences in various aspects of their lives in Canada. Overall, the literature reviewed highlight the need to conduct further research on African Canadians in smaller and mid-sized Canadian cities.

This study will investigate whether or not these findings in existing literature apply to African Canadians in Sudbury.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the lived experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury – a small, predominately White city. Therefore, this study was guided by the phenomenological approach to qualitative research using critical race theory as the theoretical lens which positions race at the center of the analysis. This chapter discusses the rationale for using a qualitative design as a study method. It also gives a detailed description of critical race theory as the theoretical framework of this study. This chapter also defined phenomenology and discussed how it enables an understanding of the lived experiences of African-Canadians in this study. It also elaborates on the sources of data and data collection techniques, limitations of the study as well as addresses the researcher's positionality within the research.

Theoretical Context

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) is a movement of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming race, racism and power relations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). According to Delgado and his colleague,

unlike traditional civil rights, which embraces incrementalism and step-by-step progress, critical race theory questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, enlightenment, rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012:2).

Critical race theory puts race and racism concurrently at the fore in research as well as questions traditional paradigms and methods, discourses on race and gender by showing how these constructs intersect and affect visible minorities (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000). This theoretical framework can be used to examine and question the ways race and racism impact on social structures, practices and discourses directly and indirectly (Yosso, 2005). The CRT acknowledges the existence and presence of racism in various aspects of societal life. It enables various cultural and racial frames of reference to guide research questions, influence the methods of data collection and analysis, to reach new findings (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

The CRT emerged from critical legal studies which was questioned for criticizing the role of the traditional legal system in legalizing oppressive social structures without offering solutions for change (Yosso, 2005). It was asserted that critical legal studies critique of the law could not offer strategies for social transformation because it failed to incorporate race and racism into the analysis (Delgado, 1995). The CRT was thus formulated by people of color in the field of law who were concerned about the impact of racism and were interested in proposing a theory to study and analyze race and to find ways of defeating racial inequality using legal doctrines (Yosso, 2005).

Although CRT has been mostly employed in the fields of law and education (Howard, 2008; Sorlozano & Yosso, 2002), the framework is transferable to disciplines other than education and law (Milner, 2007). CRT scholars take an interdisciplinary stance on race and racism and place it in both historical and contemporary contexts. As a result of this stance, they draw from diverse disciplines such as ethnic studies, history, sociology and other fields for a better comprehension of the effect of racism, sexism, and classism on racialized people (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Social Sciences can provide critical race theory with data on how significant empirical claims such as race, constructs vital aspects of social experiences (Milner, 2007). Carbado & Gulati (2013) utilized Sociology amongst other disciplines to argue that racial judgments are based partly on the color of an individual's skin. Sociology was also employed to argue that racial inequality is present in existing structures even when there is no intention to discriminate (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014).

Obasogie (2013), emphasized the importance of utilizing critical race theory in the social sciences. It argued that combining social science research with CRT provides an invaluable opportunity to think about and measure race in new and exciting ways. This combination builds upon the strength of different disciplines to assess, document and 'theoretically extrapolate' the concealed ways in which society constructs race and vice versa (Obasogie, 2013). In further explanation of the above-stated importance, it is emphasized that a combination of social science research and CRT build,

a conceptual and theoretical basis from which to understand the extent to which race is not only socially but legally constructed, how racial subordination is not merely aberrational but a structured part of social relations, and how legal rules and doctrines – even those designed for anti-discrimination purposes – often produce outcomes that systematically disfavour racial minorities” (Obasogie, 2013:184).

Solorzano & Yosso (2002) identified five principles that form the basic insights and perspectives of CRT. Analyzing these five tenets of CRT gives a better understanding of how CRT perceives racism. The first element addresses how race intersects with issues of subordination.

CRT believes that racism is a tool used by the dominant race to advance their interest materially and that of the working class physically (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This belief implies that white people have a vested interest in racism, they need racism to be in existence to keep their privileges. As a result of racism, the human race has been divided into two; the white race is the superior race and all other racial groups seen as inferior. The 'superior' racial group use their socially constructed material wealth to dominate the other racial groups and thus, have no real interest in eliminating racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

The second tenet of CRT is its critique of liberalism. CRT theorists are critical of three notions that have been embraced by the liberal legal ideology which is: the notion of colorblindness, the neutrality of the law, and incremental change. They argue that these notions fail to take into account, the "persistence and permanence" of racism and the construction of people of color as 'others' (Decuir & Dixon, 2004). Colour blindness is used by White conservatives to gather support for the abolishment of laws aimed at challenging racial injustice and in the process promoting racism which makes it misleading (Vue & Newman, 2010). CRT scholars argue that colorblindness was adopted as a reason for ignoring and dismantling race-based policies that were designed to address inequality in the society (Gotanda, 1991). Under the doctrine of incremental change, gains for marginalized groups must come at a slow pace that is suitable for those in power (Decuir & Dixon, 2004).

Another tenet of CRT is the notion of whiteness as property. CRT scholars argue that due to the history of race and racism in America, the functions and attributes of property have been deployed in the service of establishing Whiteness as a form of property (Harris, 1995). This notion is reinforced by policies and practices that marginalize and subordinate visible minorities. CRT has a commitment to social justice which includes the elimination of racism, sexism, and poverty. Thus, the goal of CRT is to empower individuals who are oppressed and victimised because of their skin color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Fourth, CRT researchers acknowledge that "the experiential knowledge of the people of color" is fundamental and insightful to an understanding and teaching about subordination" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002:26). This principle was further explained by Delgado & Stefancic, (2001), where it was asserted that racialized groups could speak on racism better than the dominant culture because of their experiences with oppression and discrimination as well as their different histories.

For CRT scholars, it is important that the people who experience racism, which in the context of the present study is African-Canadians, tell their stories by themselves and this is known as counter-storytelling. Counter-storytelling serves the purpose of exposing and questioning accepted discourse, which perpetuates and foster racial stereotypes (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). It also “helps us understand what life is like for others, and invites the reader into a new and unfamiliar world” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001:41).

The fifth notion is Interest convergence. CRT scholars suggest that the fundamental rights which people of color enjoy are superficial opportunities as whites have enjoyed them for centuries (Bell, 1980). They equally argue that these fundamental rights came only in as much as they converged with the self-interests of whites. Also, these rights are offered to the extent that they are not seen as a significant inconvenience for the majority of whites (Bell, 1980).

There have been criticisms of CRT from both critical race theorists and scholars outside of the CRT community. Some CRT scholars like Delgado & Stefancic (2001) are concerned about CRT’S preoccupation with “issues of microaggressions, racial insults, unconscious discrimination, and affirmative action in higher education” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001:94). Espinoza & Harris (1998) challenge CRT’s focus on the Black/White binary and believe that subsequent research needs to focus on the intersection of all forms of subordination. CRT has also been criticized as being immersed in issues of identity as opposed to issues of social construction and the role of multiracial people (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These scholars would like CRT to go back to its essential root which is, how race and racism affect the lived experiences of people of color. Social science research calls for objectivity and neutrality which is one of the issues critical race theory criticizes to challenge racial inequality. These critiques of objectivity have been adopted by social science researchers (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). In addition to the importance of employing CRT in social science studies already discussed at the beginning of this section, there is also a belief that racism is a thing of the past. Social science research which demonstrate the existence of racism by describing the lived experiences of racial minority groups would help dispel this “post-racial” argument (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014).

CRT is concerned with empowering people of color to overcome the barriers placed on them by race, class, and gender. Despite its criticism, CRT provides a relevant framework to understand the lived experiences of African-Canadians since race and racism have shaped their lives in the community. The definition of racism provided by the five tenets of the critical race theory informs the ontological position of this thesis to explicate if individual, structural, and institutional racism affect the life experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury.

Africans form part of a race known as the Black race which is viewed as being at the bottom of the societal ladder (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). This belief means that they are viewed by mainstream society as an inferior racial group.

There is a likelihood that African-Canadians in Sudbury are discriminated against in various contexts of their life experiences by those who hold power- the dominant race. This 'power' is ascribed to the dominant racial group by their racial background, and it shows that race and racism lead to power, which may affect the life experiences of African-Canadians. Since CRT focuses on racism and how people of color are racialized, it is relevant to this thesis because this study seeks to examine if racism plays a role in creating social inequality in the lives of African-Canadians and if so, what can be done to reduce the problems they suffer.

Research Methodology

Dew (2007) explains the difference between methodology and methods. Methodology refers to the "principles underlying particular research approaches, as distinct from methods, which are ways of collecting data" (Dew, 2007:433). Phenomenology was used as the analytical method for this study. Study data were collected using open-ended semi-structured interviews and participant's responses were analyzed in the light of the critical race perspective.

Qualitative study

A qualitative research design was employed in this study. The researcher investigated the experiences of 20 African Canadians resident in Greater Sudbury. Other researchers interested in studying the experiences of various visible minority groups have used qualitative research methods to conduct similar studies (e.g. Schroeter & James, 2014; Samuel & Wane, 2005; Mckeary, 2010). Qualitative method refers to research which use a non-mathematical process of interpretation, carried out to discover connections in raw data and then grouping them into a general explanatory scheme (Strauss & Cobin, 1998). Qualitative analyses usually require a smaller sample size than quantitative analyses (Creswell, 1998). Guidance on appropriate sample size has been recommended by scholars. For a phenomenological study such as this, Creswell, (1998) recommends 5 to 25 interviews and Morse (1994) suggest 6 interviews. The qualitative method makes use of peoples' own words which enables a better understanding of their experiences from their frames of reference (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Creswell, explaining a qualitative study stated,

qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens and the study of a research problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher and a complex description and interpretation of the problem and it extends the literature or signals a cause for action (Creswell, 2007:38).

The above explanation served as a guide for the methodology employed in this thesis taking into consideration the purpose of the study. The researcher utilized the emergent feature of the qualitative methodology by modifying the questions as understandings and situations change without being stuck to rigid designs during the interviews (Creswell, 2007). In researching race relations, one can adopt either a qualitative, quantitative or mixed research method. The researcher chose a qualitative method because of its appropriateness to the research question. Qualitative research method enabled the researcher to get African-Canadians' detailed descriptions of their perceived experiences and the meaning they ascribed to those experiences. The researcher also found qualitative research to be essential in this thesis because it broadened the understanding of the issues in general and helped to give meaning to the lived experiences of the study participants. While quantitative study methods are important in assessing the extent of perceived discrimination, it is also vital to lend voice and meaning to these experiences, and this can only be achieved through a qualitative study (Creswell, 2007). In further explanation of the suitability of qualitative studies for a better comprehension of a phenomenon, Kaplan & Maxwell (1994) stated that "the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of the participants and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data are quantified" (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994:45).

In this study, the researcher used a phenomenological qualitative inquiry for a comprehensive understanding of the lived experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury.

Phenomenological Research

The phenomenological study is a search for the "essence of things" that ordinary observation cannot reveal (Moustakas, 1994), and it also searches for a deeper understanding and insightful narratives of daily experiences (Carswell, 2007). This analytic approach studies lived experiences and is about how we experience the world and the meaning we take away from it (Abawi, 2012). The main theme of phenomenology is the concept of 'lifeworld.' According to Husserl, a founding phenomenologist, individuals as dwellers in the lifeworld view and embrace meaning differently. We also give experiences different interpretations (Abawi, 2012).

Phenomenology “focuses on the use of in-depth interviews and retrospective reflection of the experience, it is interested in the primacy of lived experiences and invites participants to share these experiences” (Beharry & Crozier, 2008). Phenomenology has its roots in philosophy and on the writings of Edmund Husserl and other philosophers such as Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty (Creswell, 2007). There are two types of phenomenology, hermeneutical or interpretive phenomenology, and empirical, transcendental or descriptive phenomenology.

Hermeneutical or Interpretive Phenomenology

Hermeneutical phenomenology was initially conceptualized by Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), a student of Husserl. He believed that humans are interpretive beings capable of finding meaning in their own lives (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). The context was central to Heidegger, and his phenomenological concept is built on the view that individuals cannot be understood without placing their culture, social context and historical period into consideration (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). In hermeneutical phenomenology, the researcher’s assumptions are embedded in the interpretive process, and the final report may include these personal assumptions of the researcher and its philosophical bases (Laverty, 2003; Allen, 1996).

Empirical, Transcendental or Descriptive Phenomenology

“Husserl was influenced by the work of Franz Brentano (1838-1917) who used the phrase descriptive phenomenology and provided the intellectual motivation for Husserl’s development of phenomenology” (Dowling, 2007, p. 132). Husserl believed that the meaning of lived experiences could be understood through one-on-one interaction between the researcher and the participant and that the descriptions of participant’s experiences by the researcher must be unbiased so that it can be accurately described and understood (Dowling, 2007). For Husserl, intentionality which refers to the consciousness is comprised of a ‘noema’ and ‘noesis’ which go hand in hand (Moustakas, 1994). Noema is that which is experienced, and noesis is the way in which it is experienced (Moustakas, 1994). As researchers reflect upon a phenomenon, he or she will have to look and keep looking so as to unfold hidden meanings. The researcher then unifies the noema or external perceptions and noesis or the internal perceptions to arrive at the essence of a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994).

As seen from the meaning of interpretive and descriptive phenomenology there are differences between the two types of phenomenology. Descriptive phenomenology focuses on the structure of the experience while hermeneutic phenomenology concentrates on the historical meanings of experience (Laverty, 2003). Another difference is that Husserl’s approach to phenomenology is epistemological in that he regards the experience as the fundamental source of knowledge while Heidegger who takes an ontological approach is concerned with the nature of reality and being in the world (Laverty, 2003).

A fundamental process involved in a phenomenological analysis is 'dwelling' with the data. A dwelling is a process by which phenomenology creates an opportunity for the phenomenon to reveal itself (Von Eckartsberg, 1986). It enables the researcher to re-examine taken for granted assumptions and become absorbed in what is revealed (Von Eckartsberg, 1986).

Existing studies suggest that researchers take on three conceptual tasks which are epoche, eidetic reduction also known as phenomenological reduction, and imaginative variation (Lin, 2013) during the 'dwelling' phase. Epoche or bracketing is explained as temporarily suspending the researcher's existing biases and assumptions about the phenomenon to get to its real meaning (Sanders, 1982). Eidetic reduction is going beyond the surface appearance of a phenomenon to reveal the essential components of that experience (Lin, 2013). This process is achieved by an intensive and repetitive reading of the collected descriptions (Moustakas, 1994). Imaginative variation helps uncover possible meanings by varying the frames of reference, using imagination, and approaching the phenomenon through divergent perspectives (Lin, 2013).

For this study, the researcher used descriptive phenomenology to understand the lived experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury. She employed Moustakas 's approach because it has guidelines for structural descriptions and data analysis procedure (Moustakas, 1994). The researcher horizontalized the data by laying them all out and attaching equal weight to them. The data were clustered into themes and then analyzed to get to the essence of the phenomenon. A phenomenological study was chosen because it is useful when researchers are interested in discerning the lived experiences of a phenomenon among a particular group (Creswell, 1998). Intellectually, phenomenology is very suitable when the study goal is to explore a concept loaded with social and cultural meanings (Sanders, 1982). A Phenomenological research aims to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experiences and can provide a comprehensive description of it (Giorgi, 1985; Moustakas, 1994).

Study Area – The City of Greater Sudbury

The target population of this research was African-Canadians living in Greater Sudbury, commonly referred to as Sudbury, Ontario. Greater Sudbury is the largest city in Northeastern Ontario by population. According to the 2016 census, Sudbury has a population of 161,531, and this is an increase of about 0.8 percent from 2011 when it was 160,274 (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Sudbury is home to individuals and groups from different cultural and ethnic/racial origins. The city has Canada's largest francophone community outside Quebec. It also has a historic European, Asian and African communities amongst others (Saarinen, 1990). The immigrant population represents approximately 7% of Greater Sudbury's total population (Statistics Canada, 2013). There has been an increase in the number of immigrants coming to settle in Sudbury after 2001.

While earlier immigrants in Sudbury were Europeans (74%), those who immigrated after 2001 were mostly from Asia/Middle East (37%), Africa (19%), US (15%) and other parts of the world (6%) (Statistics Canada, 2013). According to the 2011 National Household Survey, there were 9,780 immigrants living in Greater Sudbury, and this is 6.2% of the total population. The total visible minority population in Sudbury is 4,200 according to 2011 census. The dominant visible minority groups in Greater Sudbury are Blacks and Asians with Blacks making up to 33.4% of visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2012). When it comes to language used in the community, English is used by about two-thirds of the people in the city, and French by more than a quarter of the population in Greater Sudbury (Statistics Canada, 2007). For religion, nine out of ten persons in Greater Sudbury identify their religion to be Christianity, and one out of the ten persons show no religious affiliation (Statistics Canada 2007). Census data suggests that Greater Sudbury has not been attractive to immigrants in Ontario or Canada. Although Sudbury reported a slight increase in its immigration rate (Statistics Canada, 2011), the city's immigrant population is relatively low. Greater Sudbury census metropolitan area at 2% is one of the least diverse CMA's in the province of Ontario (Ministry of Finance, 2011).

According to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, diversity is viewed to be a vital part of the Sudbury community because the only population growth in the city is within the aboriginal and multicultural communities (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2010). To attract and keep immigrants in the city, the city of Greater Sudbury formed a community working group. This group was charged to develop a diversity plan which would meet the needs of all citizens especially Aboriginal, Francophone, immigrant and multicultural groups (<http://www.immigrationsudbury.ca>). In 2004, the city obtained funding from the Canadian heritage for a multicultural project - Diversity Thrives Here. Greater Sudbury's city council adopted the diversity plan in 2005. The purpose of this plan was to ensure that everyone including immigrants and multicultural groups can fully participate in the Sudbury community (<http://www.sudburydiversity.ca>).

Some public and private organizations in Sudbury were charged with the task to facilitate the adaptation and integration of new and recent immigrants in the community.

Some of these bodies which include the Newcomer Settlement Program are funded by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration of Ontario.

Other settlement services include Contact intercultural francophone de Sudbury settlement program, YMCA, College Boreal, and Sudbury multicultural and folk arts association (<http://www.sudburymulticultural.org>). There are various government and private organizations where individuals are employed in the city. Existing literature indicates that although Greater Sudbury has responded to Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act's legislation by updating its hiring policies, Sudbury has no formal workforce diversity management policy, and this is notwithstanding its strong commitment to diversity in the community (Lajoie, 2011). Workplace diversity management policy is a way for local government organizations to be clear about what they expect of their staff and how as an entire organization, they will conduct and present themselves to the community (Lajoie, 2011).

The city of Greater Sudbury was selected for this study partly because previous research conducted by Block (2006), a report on attitudes about race relations, discovered significant levels of resentment and discrimination towards the visible minority, aboriginal and francophone population in the city. The report further identified the need for more services designed explicitly for immigrants in the areas of housing and health. Immigration having also been identified as a means to counter aging population and youth migration (Tosutti & Esses, 2011), efforts are declared to be ongoing to address diversity issues in the community. Greater Sudbury's municipal government and non-governmental organizations have been working to recruit francophone immigrants, expand employment opportunities, stimulate diversity through arts and culture and facilitate cross-cultural awareness amongst other efforts (Tosutti & Esses, 2011). This study investigated whether these efforts to foster diversity which is declared to be ongoing have been successful so far.

Data Techniques and Collection

This thesis used data collected from the personal stories of African-Canadians in Sudbury. Phenomenological studies focus on describing and understanding of the 'lived experiences' of individuals who have experienced a particular event or been exposed to a standard set of conditions (Creswell, 2007). In this study, the phenomenon is race relations which influence most aspects of the lives of visible minorities, specifically, African-Canadians in Sudbury.

Participants

Participants for this study were 20 African Canadians living in Sudbury. Eligibility criteria for the study participants were: they must be at least 18 years old, have an African ancestry (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005), self-identify as African-Canadians, and can speak and understand the English language.

The English language criterion was necessary because it is vital that participants comprehend the interview questions precisely to provide detailed descriptions of their experiences. For this study, there was no minimum amount of time participants must have lived in Sudbury to be eligible for participation. Interviewing eligible study participants irrespective of the amount of time they have lived in the city allowed for a comparison of the experiences of older and newer African-Canadian Sudbury residents. Individuals from the Caribbean, whose ancestors might have migrated from Africa, were not interviewed for this study. Whites from South Africa, Algeria, Namibia and other African countries were also not included in this study. Invitations to participate in the study were handed out to African Canadians seen at various locations in the city. Adverts were also placed at the Sudbury multicultural society office and various religious places, inviting eligible participants to take part in the study with a promise of a \$5 Tim Horton gift card as a token of appreciation but these efforts received no response. Organisations could also not disclose their list of African Canadians because of confidentiality reasons. Participants were thus recruited mostly from snowballing sampling selection.

Snowballing Sampling Selection

Snowball sampling is a method of expanding the sample by asking one study participant to recommend others for interviewing (Creswell, 2007). In the snowballing technique, individuals who possess the relevant characteristics, are interviewed and then asked for the names (referrals) of other people who have the same attributes (Noy, 2008). For this study, the researcher used word of mouth, personal contacts, friends of friends, and some members of African-Canadian community in two churches across Sudbury. This sampling method is useful in that it helped to attain the study's required sample size and it also accesses hard to reach population (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). According to Blanken, Hendricks & Adriaans (1992), snowballing sampling offers practical advantages if the purpose of a study is qualitative and descriptive. It also has its drawback which is that snowball samples are biased and do not allow researchers to generalize the study findings or claims (Creswell, 2007). However, the purpose of this study was not to conclude the study results but to provide an in-depth analysis of African-Canadians' perception of race relations in the city.

Interview Process

It was necessary to ask African-Canadians about their experiences in Sudbury, to investigate these encounters. Data were collected for this study through in-depth semi-structured interviews (Creswell, 2007) of 20 African-Canadians in Sudbury. This method was important because it gave an insight into the challenges experienced by study participants. The relevance of interviews as a data collection method was pointed out by Berg & Lune (2012), which stated that it is a valuable tool to gather the meaning people attach to their daily experiences.

The interview began with an explanation of the study, having participants choose a pseudonym and gathering demographic information. The researcher used an interview guide which consisted of 18 questions arranged in a consistent order. The questions were regarding African-Canadians' perception of acceptance in the city, experiences of racism, reactions to those experiences, amongst other questions which were all related to race and multiculturalism in Sudbury. The interview being semi-structured enabled the researcher to pick up on clues from participants, probe and ask further questions when necessary (Berg & Lune, 2012). It also presented the opportunity to rephrase some questions and offer explanations where it was required. This interview method afforded participants the opportunity to give detailed descriptions of any experiences they felt were relevant to the study. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on the average and were conducted in the English language. Based on the convenience of participants, interviews were conducted at participant's homes, coffee shops, shopping mall and public libraries. Sudbury has a good number of African Canadians, however, many of them were reluctant to take part in a study such as this. They feared that their interviews might be traced back to them even after assurances on the anonymization of data.

Validation of Data

The researcher took measures to ensure the validity of data analyzed. Each interview was audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim for analysis. Recording and transcribing are recognized as enhancing and addressing the issue of credibility (Creswell, 2007). The researcher also made efforts to "bracket" any pre-existing biases, beliefs and experiences with racism which she may have, as an African-Canadian. "Bracketing" refers to the ability to recognize and set aside these pre-existing ideas (Creswell, 2007). As an African woman living in Canada, the researcher has encountered individuals from her racial group who have experienced racial discrimination and also seen how painful this experience could be for these individuals. However, before the researcher started the process of data collection, it was equally vital for her to recognize that not every African-Canadian have encountered racism. This fact enabled her to be more open and unbiased to various experiences that were described by study participants. It was also essential to convey the interpretations of participant's descriptions of their experiences accurately. Accurate definitions were achieved by contacting each participant at the end of the analysis of their transcript, to compare and confirm if the researcher's analysis and interpretation described their experiences.

Data Analysis

The primary data obtained through in-depth interviews were transcribed and stored electronically. The transcription was done within four weeks, and this data became the raw data for analysis.

In a phenomenological study, data analysis begins with horizontalizing the data (Moustakas, 1994). Horizontalizing is the process of laying out all the data for examination and attaching equal weight to each of them (Merriman, 2009). The researcher read each interview transcript carefully and repeatedly, the data were then organized into small segments that reflected a single specific thought. The research questions were addressed to these general units of thought or meaning to determine if they respond to and illuminate the research questions.

The broad groups of meaning which were found to address the research questions were then noted as units of relevant meaning. The list of units of pertinent meaning was further examined, and those who were redundant to others previously listed were removed. These non-redundant units of relevant meaning were thereafter analyzed to determine whether there was any universal essence that unites them and these were grouped into clusters of meaning. The researcher examined all the clusters of meaning and elicited central themes which expressed the core of the clusters. A summary of each interview was written incorporating the themes which emerged from the data. These summaries were returned to study participants, and they were asked if the essence of their interviews were fully captured. After that, the researcher searched for the themes which were common to most or all of the interviews and these common ideas were then clustered together as indicating general themes that emerged from the interviews. Finally, the researcher used the variety of themes and meanings identified to develop an overall description of race relations as the participants experienced it. According to Moustakas (1994), "in the process of explicating the phenomenon, qualities are recognized and described; every perception is granted equal value; nonrepetitive constituents of the experience are linked thematically, and a full description is derived" (Moustakas, 1994, p.96).

As the theoretical framework for this phenomenological study of African-Canadians is critical race theory, the researcher looked at data that were relevant to the study participants lived experiences in Sudbury during each phase of the data analysis. The overall description illuminates the challenges, barriers, and discrimination which describe the experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury.

Ethical consideration

Ethical issues are usually taken into consideration whenever humans are the subject of any research. These issues were addressed in this study to protect the rights of study participants and also avoid any misunderstanding that may originate from the data collection process. The researcher first completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS) tutorial on research involving humans on Laurentian university research ethic's website and was issued an ethics certificate which is a requirement before an investigation can be commenced. Thereafter, she applied for ethics approval detailing the nature of the study and all the steps to be taken to protect study participants from the Laurentian university research and ethics board, for which approval was granted.

Before the beginning of each interview, the researcher introduced herself and the purpose of her study. The researcher gave each participant an informed consent form which they read, expressed their understanding of it and then signed. She informed them that the interview would be recorded for accuracy and asked if they were comfortable with that.

The researcher also told them that participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time without penalty. She tried to make participants feel at ease by striking up a conversation about topics, like the weather and the countries they lived in before coming to Canada. The researcher further informed them that data would be anonymized and no identifying information will be collected. Although data for the study would be anonymized, the researcher also gave participants the option of choosing a pseudonym for themselves or having her do that for them to feel more secure. The researcher believes she built a trusting relationship with participants during this initial contact which made them feel that their interests were protected. Study data were kept anonymous and stored in a secure place.

Researcher's Positionality

The primary means of data collection in a qualitative study such as the current one is the researcher. It is therefore vital for her to address any biases as well as epistemological and ontological stance. The researcher writes as an African-Canadian female whose epistemological stance is that of a critical race theorist and an advocate for equality and justice. She was born and spent her formative years in Nigeria, West Africa. She is a Nigerian trained lawyer who handled briefs dealing with various aspects of discrimination before immigrating to Canada. She is also accredited as a lawyer with the law society of upper Canada. While the researcher may not have been directly exposed to racism in the Canadian society, she has seen it happen to people close to her. She has also heard many African-Canadians recount their tales of frustration and dissatisfaction with discrimination in Canada. The researcher therefore, views this study as a way to identify and understand the challenges which African-Canadians encounter in the Canadian society and specifically, Sudbury. She also views it as an opportunity to draw attention to existing policies and structures and their impact on the successful life course for African-Canadians in this community. The researcher hopes to provide a voice to this racial group who are historically marginalised so that what they experience as racial minorities in a predominately white city can be known and understood. As an African-Canadian, the researcher's race gave her some advantage as an insider. It helped her obtain the cooperation and trust of study participants. It also facilitated a better understanding of their experiences.

Dorothy Smith's standpoint theory (Harding, 2003; Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002) supports the "outsider-within" phenomenon.

Standpoint theory refers to the fact that a researcher who shares the same attributes with the researched, such as racial origin in this case, is placed in a unique position to point to patterns of behaviour that those who belong to the dominant group are unable to recognize (Stoezler & Yuval- Davis, 2002). Standpoint theory could be applied to this study however, the researcher chose to “bracket” her viewpoint and allow the study participants’ voices and perspectives to be heard.

Being a novice in research, the researcher initially assumed that she had no biases during the data collection process but realised that she had to acknowledge those biases and stay conscious of it so that it does not interfere with the data analysis. According to Fusch & Ness, (2015), the researcher operates between two worlds which are the cultural worlds of participants and the world of the researcher’s own perspective. Although, the researcher belongs to the cultural world of the participants, she was careful to ensure that the interpretations given to the lived experiences of study participants represent that of the participants. The researcher attempted to avoid any projection of her perspective onto the participants’ perceived experiences by asking them for clarifications where necessary. She also avoided asking participants questions that had the tendency to influence their answers towards any of the research questions.

The researcher acknowledges her privileged position as a graduate student and researcher. However, most study participants were well educated therefore, they did not view this as putting the researcher in a position of power. They also did not see it as making her an outsider. They recognised the importance of this research and gave a detailed description of their perceived experiences. The researcher located her position in this research by doing a lot of self-reflection. Following critical race theory, she situated race and racism at the fore of this study. She also reflected on her racial background and the way it influences her experiences of the world as well as how she interprets others and their experiences. The researcher also reflected on her views on race and racialized experiences of people close to her, that have shaped her research decisions and epistemology. This helped the researcher to avoid misinterpretation of participants. The researcher also considered historical and contemporary policies and practices and how they have shaped African-Canadians’ way of knowing. Epoche or bracketing is fundamental to transcendental phenomenology (Sanders, 1982), therefore the researcher was also aware of her biases and preconceived notions which she had in check.

Summary

This chapter discussed critical race theory, phenomenological research methodology and methods that were used in this study. The central question in this study was aimed at understanding the experiences of African-Canadians in Sudbury, a small, predominately white community. Critical race theory which provides a transformative method for examining discrimination and puts race and racism at the fore in all aspects of the research was used as the theoretical framework for this study. Phenomenology which is a study of lived experiences was deemed to be an appropriate method to study the lived experiences of African-Canadians. This study utilised snowballing sampling method to recruit participants. Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews of 20 African-Canadians in Sudbury. Study data were audio recorded and later transcribed for phenomenological analysis.

The next chapter provides the study findings which contain the major themes that emerged from the interviews, along with some descriptions of participant's encounters.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews that were conducted with 20 African-Canadians. This study drew upon the descriptions of African-Canadian participants to document how they perceived their experiences as visible minorities in a predominately white small Canadian city. Study participants were asked questions relating to their reasons for deciding to settle in Sudbury, their cross-cultural interactions, opportunities and challenges which they encountered in the city, perceived experiences of racism and how they dealt with those incidents. Each interview was analysed to search for recurring themes in the participants' responses. These themes helped to portray a complete picture of the life of African-Canadians in the city. It also served as a link between participants' experiences and the findings in existing literature relating to race and racism.

Socio-Demographic Profile of Participants

This section contains a detailed analysis of the 20 participants interviewed. The socio-demographic profiles that were examined include: country of origin, gender, religion, educational attainment and employment, age range and marital status, and year of arrival in Sudbury.

Gender, country of origin and religion

Among the 20 participants interviewed, twelve were female and eight were male. The participants were originally from seven African countries: Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Congo, Ghana, Cameroon, and Burundi. Eighteen of the participants reported Christianity as their religion and two reported no religious belief.

Length of time in Sudbury

When asked how long they have been in Sudbury, three participants stated that they had lived in Sudbury for over 20 years. Four participants had lived in Sudbury for 10 years and more, and six participants had been in Sudbury for about five years. Eight participants said they moved to Sudbury in the last two years.

Age and Marital status

Participants' age ranged between 18 to 70 years. Half of the participants arrived in Sudbury between the ages of 17 and 40 years. The average age of participants at the time of this study was 40. Half of the study participants were married and the other half were either single, separated or divorced.

Educational qualification and Occupation

All the 20 study participants were educated. Majority of them (15 out of 20) reported having completed university/college and some of them having their postgraduate degrees. Five of the participants had their high school diploma and were enrolled in a degree programme at a university. Out of 15 participants who were degree and postgraduate degree holders, less than half had jobs with good income. The rest were either unemployed or had low-paying jobs.

FINDINGS

The findings of this study are arranged around five general themes verbalized by African-Canadians in discussing their perception of race relations in Sudbury. The five themes were identified as (a) Social Interaction (b) Employment (c) Black in Sudbury (d) Settlement challenges (e) Coping strategies

These themes provide an insight through description, of how participants experienced race relations in Sudbury. They represent the structure of the overall experience of the visible minority group under study and subsumed 14 sub-themes.

SOCIAL INTERACTION

This theme reflects participants' reasons for moving to Sudbury as well as their perceptions of the city when they arrived. It also reflects participants' descriptions of their interpersonal relations with the majority race, and relations with teachers as well as classmates in the academic environment. The interviews revealed African-Canadians' motivation to settle in Sudbury to include work, education and better life opportunities.

The Decision to Live in Sudbury

Participants had their various reasons for deciding to live and settle in Sudbury. Many of the participants who are professionals in their fields stated that 'work' brought them to Sudbury. For some of them who are healthcare professionals, they already had job offers before they made the decision to move to Sudbury. One of the first things these individuals observed on their first visit was the calmness and peacefulness of the city, and they had no hesitation that it would be a place to call 'home'. For other participants, it was the slower pace of life they saw in Sudbury as against bigger cities like Toronto that influenced their decision to move to the city. Leke, who lived in Toronto, explaining his decision to move to Sudbury stated,

Toronto life is very stressful, the hustling is too much, here it is calm. When I was offered a job here, I knew my family would love it.

Some participants moved to Sudbury to attend schools, and yet for others, it was the search for the proverbial 'greener pastures' that led them to Sudbury. This later group of participants are well educated in their various fields; however, they were unable to secure jobs in the bigger Canadian cities. They therefore decided to try their luck in a smaller city. Shana, a participant who falls within this group explaining why she and her husband moved to Sudbury said,

We were looking for a better life and heard that getting into the profession is easier up north, we then decided to move here and see who can get into the system first.

About half of the participants on arrival in Sudbury were happy with the outlook of the city and believed they made the right decision. They described the city as a family-friendly place and thought that it will be perfect for people just starting off in life. For the other half of the participants, their initial feeling when they moved to the city was apprehension, and even fear. As they explained, this is because they saw very few individuals from their own race at the time they came. Some of these individuals moved to Sudbury many years ago when African-Canadians were very few in the city, and others moved during the winter season when most people stayed indoors. Once they settled in the city however, they got accustomed to the fact that they were a racial minority group in a predominately white city and of course, they also got to see individuals from their race as well as other racial groups.

Common Questions from The Dominant Race

On first contact with the dominant race, participants get many questions most of which relate to their countries of origin. They get asked where they are from frequently and they described this as making them feel uneasy. This is because they perceive this kind of question as being designed to make them feel 'othered'. It represents for them, a reminder that they are not from Canada and will probably always be seen as perpetual visitors. Laila, explaining this issue and the effect it has on her stated,

The first question people here ask me is, where are you from? I find it awkward because it feels like by being asked that, I am already considered as an outsider even if I was born and raised in Canada.

Kanu, another participant had this to say,

You get asked a lot of questions about where you are from and all that. It is not very offensive, but sometimes, it is just the way they put it that make you feel uncomfortable.

Older participants like Nene had more to say on this, according to her,

Being a black person and having lived in Canada for 42 years, I still get asked, where are you from? And sometimes, I get asked that question by people in their 20's and 30's. Because I have an accent, because I am dark-skinned, you think I am from somewhere else. I was in this country working, paying taxes and employing people before you came into this world and country but you want to know where I am from because I look different.

Some of the participants believe that some members of the dominant race ask these questions because they believe that they are the sole owners of the land and therefore have the sole rights to call themselves Canadians. Kola stated,

A lot of white people generally take advantage of the fact that 'this is ours', that's the way they look at it. They forget the fact that there were people who were here before they came, who the land actually belongs to.

Participants also got questioned a lot about the 'poverty stricken' life in Africa. Many of the individuals asking these questions have never been to Africa and they depend on the mainstream media for news about Africa. Most of this information are negative stereotypes and depictions of Africa and participants cannot help but shudder at the kind of questions that come their way about their continent. Ada was often asked these questions by her course mates. According to her, one of her classmates said to her,

Please don't be offended but I have to ask. Are all kids in Africa orphans? Is everyone impoverished? Do they all live in thatched houses?

Shana, who works with a home care agency gets offered food and groceries by clients because they believe she is poor and starving. Describing one of her experiences with her client she stated,

... and she said to me, oh you guys are so poor. She watches the tv stations where they show hunger and poverty in Africa, and asking for donations. She suggests that I am hungry, offers me food and groceries and I am like, I am not poor and no, I do not need your food, I have enough.

Relations with Mainstream Society

African-Canadians in the study always felt alone and isolated even when they were surrounded by individuals from different racial groups in the city. They found it challenging to cultivate any meaningful relationship with the dominant race. Most of them believe this to be as a result of what they described as pre-existing groups in the Sudbury community.

Explaining what they mean by pre-existing groups, Keffi said,

Individuals here have their own groups and little communities who they prefer to relate with. This makes it harder for someone who is new or doesn't belong to the dominant race to make friends.

In further explanation, Chio said,

People tend to stick to their nationalities here. This sort of reduces opportunities for interactions and building relationships. It is difficult to break in.

Based on their interpersonal relations with the dominant race, many participants do not feel fully accepted in the city. Chine explaining this stated,

Because I have travelled around a lot, it is easy for me to pick up some signs. I have had people look at me with no facial expression. When I ask them questions, I find that they are hesitant before they answer, and I see fear there. I don't know why the fear is there.

They experienced members of the dominant race communicate to them through words and body language that they would rather not have any contact with them. Tosin, a participant, recounted an incident at one of the worship places in the city. According to him,

We were just walking in to sit down on two empty chairs near a man and this gentleman decides to spread his legs and put his hand on the chair showing that he didn't want us to sit there. He also muttered the 'N' word right there in church.

These participants are also frequently subjected to distasteful jokes which they find to be racist. Nona was one of the recipients of such jokes and she stated,

A Caucasian at my job asked me what I call a black baby, is it an alien or a baboon? I was horrified and of course he told me it was a joke, that I didn't have to look so upset.

Another participant Nneka narrated her experience, according to her,

The lady in front of me was arguing with the cashier over some stuff and the line behind us was getting longer. I wasn't happy but I didn't say anything. I guess she realised she was holding up the line and she left. I went to load my car and I saw her outside. She started looking at me and laughing, and then she started making monkey noises at me.

The Francophones' Experiences

Francophone African-Canadians in the study described their relations with the francophone majority in the city. They felt unaccepted and were of the perception that the mainstream francophone community did not want anything to do with them. Anyi, a Francophone participant said,

I was excited to move to Sudbury because the city is francophone. I thought it will feel like home but I was surprised that the francophone majority were not so welcoming.

Another francophone participant, Kweku shared her experience, she said,

When I worked in retail, I would see people speaking French and I would try to speak French with them, the language being my first language. I found that they would either end the discussion or not be happy talking with me. At some point, I would pretend that I don't speak French because I felt that I was better off that way.

Elo, who is also francophone, had this to say,

The type of French spoken by Sudbury francophone is quite different from the French that African-Canadians speak and I find that they do not like it when I speak my French. I have been told that I have an accent and that they do not really understand my French.

Relations with The Police

Older participants who have lived in Sudbury between 20 to 40 years described their experiences with the police in the past and compared it to their perception of the situation at present. They suggested that the relationship between African-Canadians and the police have significantly improved over the years. Toke, explaining the kind of relationship that African-Canadians currently have with the police stated,

We have a perfect relationship with the police force now. A lot of work has been done successfully to bring the black community in with the police. We actually do have a good relationship and it wasn't always like that.

These participants then went ahead to describe the kind of relations they had with the police over 10 years ago. They described how they were frequently pulled over without justification. They were stopped for reasons termed as 'random' stops and they believed these random stops were not utilised on members of the dominant race. Some of these participants believed they were stopped for even driving new cars. Another participant, Lola describing one of such encounters with the police, stated,

...the next street was mine and I pointed to turn in, the police car followed me and turned their thing on. I knew I did nothing so I parked my vehicle... and then the officer came out and his hand was on his holster and it bothered me...the first question he asked me was whose car is this?

Tayo, who had a similar experience, wondered aloud, she asked,

Why did you have to follow me all the way from downtown? Why would you ask me who this car belongs to? You think I stole the car?

These participants perceived their encounters with the police as discriminatory. They believed they were targeted because of their skin colour. However, most of these experiences are believed by them to be a thing of the past, because not only has it not happened to them in the last few years, they have also not heard stories of such encounters which was usually the case back then. According to Tayo,

It hasn't happened to me in the past 10 to 15 years and I haven't heard that happen, so I am assuming and hoping that it is for the better.

There was no specific question asking participants about their encounters with the police and it is worthy of note that apart from the older participants, none of the other participants talked about any encounters with the police in all of their experiences in the city.

The Academic Environment

Participants who are students described their interaction with teachers and school mates in the higher institutions in Sudbury. African-Canadians had positive experiences with their professors. They found the classroom to be very conducive for learning as they felt that most of the professors discharged their duties with utmost fairness.

They never perceived themselves or any other student as being treated differently. Chuka, an undergraduate in one of the schools in the city said,

The professors in my school are very good. They exhibit no form of bias or unfair treatment towards anyone in class.

Keffi, another student also stated,

I find that my professors are fair to everyone. They go over and beyond their duties to help all the students.

While African-Canadian student-participants described a positive and rewarding experience with their professors, the same cannot be said of their relations with their fellow students. They perceived a lot of negativity from the students. Many of the majority students showed their reluctance to sit beside them in class, talk to them or be in the same group with them for group work. They only did those when they had no option, for instance, when the teacher splits up the groups herself or the minority students ask to join their groups.

Participants also witnessed majority students use racial slurs openly in public places without fear of any reprimand or consequence. Chuka said she was on a queue and she heard someone standing around her say to her friend, *“Oh, she is brown and stinky”*.

The majority students did not hesitate to express their dislike and disapproval of minority students and teachers. Kola was in the library and overheard someone seated on a table beside hers talking loudly about another African-Canadian. According to her, the girl said, *“I don’t care about her, after all, she is black anyways”*.

Keffi, another student described an incident in one of her classes, according to her,

Just at the beginning of the semester, we were told that we will have a new teacher, an African-Canadian and we were told his name. Immediately his name was mentioned, I heard some of the Caucasians saying, oh my god, I am so nervous that he is going to have an accent, did you see his name, I cannot even say it, and I found that to be ridiculous. It turns out that this professor was born and raised in Canada and he didn’t even have an accent. And even if he had an accent, so what?

African-Canadian students who participated in this study enjoyed learning from their professors and had no issues with their coursework. However, they felt physically isolated and felt unaccepted by the majority students.

Cultural and Other Differences

Participants were of the view that differences in their culture and life circumstances with that of the dominant race are contributory factors for the difficulties they encountered with social interactions in all the contexts already described. In the academic environment, Kola, who says she finds it hard to build a rapport with mainstream students and continually feels ignored by them, explains,

I feel no connection with other students and find it hard to interact with them. I think this is where culture might come in. I find group projects to be the worst because they chitchat and I just sit there and watch which is weird.

Student participants also found it hard to build relationships with majority students because of the age gaps between them. In a bid to get Canadian qualifications, which is a preference for employers, some African-Canadians go back to school upon their arrival in Canada. Most times, these individuals find themselves older than the rest of the class who are mostly fresh from high school. Chuka, who is one of the oldest in her class explaining her situation stated,

All my classmates are younger than me, so we do not have much in common and our level of thinking is quite different. I find that it is hard to build a meaningful relationship there.

Participants were also of the opinion that differences in their culture and orientation make them not to be as free as they would have been to ask questions and interact fully with members of the dominant race. Chio, in explanation of this view stated,

People here tend to be restricted. It is not like back home that at least your neighbour knows what is going on with you. Everyone tend to mind their business so you have to restrict yourself and be careful what you ask.

Many participants believe that it is easier for them to deal with people from their own race who understand them. Laila, who shares this opinion stated,

I find it easier to understand and communicate with people from my own race. They understand my ways well and I am very comfortable with them.

Participants believe that this difficulty in understanding other races is not peculiar to them. They perceive members of the dominant race as being in the same dilemma in their relations with visible minorities. Lola explaining this stated,

People here think they need special skills to talk to visible minorities. Because your culture is different, they think it will be so hard to understand you. You can see this in their reluctance to approach you for issues.

They also perceived a lack of understanding and intolerance in the way some members of the dominant race react to certain aspects of their culture. To buttress this point, Nona described her experience with her colleagues at work. According to her,

I was eating some meat during lunch and my colleagues asked me what it was. When I told them the kind of meat it was, it was like I literally shocked them with the most unappealing information in the world. Need I say that they talked about it the whole day and told everyone that cared to listen about the 'strange food' I was eating much to my surprise and embarrassment.

EMPLOYMENT

This theme is reflective of participant's experiences with securing employment, their remuneration, as well as their experiences with clients, colleagues and managers.

The Application Process

Many participants found it hard to secure jobs in Sudbury. This difficulty started in the job application stage where many of them would apply for jobs and not get called for interviews.

Kanu explaining what she experienced said,

I apply for jobs which are advertised and for which I meet all the requirements, yet I find myself not called for even one interview. I feel like once my name is seen, I am dismissed and not even given a chance to say what I can bring to the job.

Kweku, another foreign trained participant with Canadian certification to work in her field stated,

When I came to Sudbury, it was so hard for me to find a job in my field even though I was very qualified. For a small city, I submitted about fifty applications without getting called for one interview.

Shana, a foreign trained participant who has Canadian accreditation also narrated her experience, she said,

I once applied for a job position with an opening in Sudbury. The same organisation also advertised a similar position to work in their office up north. I only applied for the job in Sudbury but was rejected and was instead, offered the job up north. I was told that I was not suitable for the job in Sudbury, which didn't make sense to me because it was the same position. The only explanation was that I was deemed not good enough to occupy that position here but could go far up north where many Caucasians are unwilling to relocate to.

Experiences in The Workplace

When some of these African-Canadians are eventually employed in professional jobs matching their qualifications, they encounter a lot of prejudice by clients at their jobs. Clients see them and express their surprise and sometimes, hostility on seeing a black person occupying a top position at an organisation. The implication of this is that African-Canadians are not expected to occupy top positions at work and clients treat and react to them negatively when they do.

Leke, who heads an organisation, shared his experience, he said,

I have been in a position where I employ people and as a manager, I receive job applications. When they come in, they are shocked to see a black person being the one in charge of employing them. They don't necessarily say it but you can see it in their expression, like oh really?

Tosin, a professional, shared a similar experience, according to him,

I have had someone come to my workplace and ask to talk to the supervisor. One of my colleagues pointed me out to him, he looks at me and says, 'no, I mean the real supervisor.

Kweku, another professional, explaining who the clients prefer to deal with when they come into her workplace said, *"they prefer to talk to my assistant or other colleagues who are light skinned"*.

These clients from the dominant race do not want African-Canadians to handle their cases because they do not think they are capable or competent enough to do so. In all the cases described by participants, the clients had no prior interaction or experience with those African-Canadian professionals so as to be in a position to decipher whether they were competent or not. Their decisions not to deal with participants were wholly based on the fact that they believed that African-Canadians are not good enough to be in professional jobs, which require advanced skills and intellect. According to Chine, another participant who experienced this severally,

At work, the first thing people see is my colour and I feel them step back a bit and try to analyse if they will ask me to offer the service that they need. I feel like the colour of my skin makes them doubt my ability to effectively carry out my duties.

Eventually, when some of these African-Canadian professionals are given a chance by these clients to perform their jobs, which they are fully trained and competent enough to carry out, these clients express their surprise that they are actually good at their jobs.

Participants find that to be patronising and disrespectful, according to Leke,

I find it annoying and condescending when I attend to my clients and they go 'oh, he's smart'. They do not say that when my Caucasian colleagues attend to them. They say that to me because on seeing me, they already concluded in their minds that I would not be competent because of my skin colour.

Participants have also experienced verbal abuse and derogatory words in the course of their jobs. Nneka, a participant narrated how she once introduced herself to a client as his professional who will be taking care of him for the day and he said, "oh so you are my slave for the day".

Chio, another participant had a client, who she was supposed to look after, shout at her saying, "go away! You are black and a whore! She was so horrified, and in her words, "I felt like dying and had to call the office to make a report".

Some of these clients were plain unhappy seeing African-Canadians at their jobs even if the job was not a professional job and no matter how low their positions were at those jobs. Nneka, a participant, once overheard one of his organisation's clients say to his employer,

"You better get rid of those darkies from your business because they are going to ruin business for you".

Nona, another participant shared his experience, according to him,

This client came up with every frivolous complaint against me to have my employment terminated. I was in a meeting with him, other clients and some of my colleagues when I excused myself to use the washroom. At the end of the meeting, that client sent an email to my employer saying that it was unprofessional for me to go to the washroom during the meeting. These things happen and you can only see the motive behind it.

In some instances, these African-Canadians are told without mincing words, that clients are uncomfortable with them and would prefer to deal with individuals from their own race.

Kweku, who experienced this stated,

I once finished a shift at a client's house and the client called the office and complained that they did not want a colored person. The office called to cancel my next shift and told me that I was no longer needed for that client as she would feel more comfortable with someone that has the same skin colour as her.

When it came to African-Canadian professionals who work in specific sectors where there is a considerable demand for their services, they did not have problems with getting jobs. Those were the individuals who had job offers before they even moved to Sudbury. However, while they had it easy with securing employment, they suffered differential treatment on the job. Leke, one of these individuals stated,

I haven't had much problem with employment because of my race, but do I have a problem getting to where I should be, like a raise or position? Yes.

Shana, another participant who described this experience stated,

I see opportunities being passed me over and given to someone else because I think the boss was uncomfortable to know me and she is just like, ok, this guy does his job just fine but gives the promotion to someone else...She passes over the opportunity to let me grow because she felt I was different and she wasn't that comfortable talking to me.

Some participants were paid lesser wages than their colleagues occupying the same position with similar responsibilities and work hours. They saw no reason for that and believe that they were discriminated against because of their race. Nene shared her experience at an organisation where she worked. She said,

The company I have been with for 27 years hired a new person who is male and white. I graduated before him and have more experience than he does. I found out along the line that he was being paid \$3 per hour more than I was paid and I had to tell the manager that it was absolutely unacceptable.

After Nene, the participant mentioned above complained to her employers, a little amount was added to her salary but according to her, *"it never matched the salary of my white colleague"*.

Kanu, another participant, who described how unfairly she felt she was treated by her boss, stated,

Amongst my co-workers, most of whom I got hired before, I was the only one that would get a 3-hour shift once a week. They also never wanted me to go to the cash. Others who I started before were working cash and doing everything but they refused to train me and would always put me in front to greet customers.

Participants felt they were the target of prejudice and discrimination by their managers, colleagues and supervisors.

Nona, one of the participants who perceived discriminatory treatment by her colleagues said,

I have a young colleague where I work who every time I tell her something, she argues. Everybody always says to me, why does she always argue with you? She argues with me because I am black. Because she would tell me that she told my other white colleague and he said its okay and I'll say then, go give it to him to sign. I remember the manager telling her one day, you are damn argumentative; the woman you are arguing with trained me.

Participants felt that their colleagues who are Caucasians feel entitled to their jobs and would always remind the visible minorities that the jobs belong to them and they were doing them a favour by hiring them even when they were not their managers or employers. According to Nene, who started working in her department before her white colleague, she was transferred to another branch along the line and later on, transferred back to her previous job. She stated that when she went back to that department, her colleague said to her, “oh I have fulfilled my legal obligation to hire and work with a visible minority”.

Study participants perceived themselves as being mistreated by their superiors and they never witnessed any of their colleagues from the dominant race treated that unfairly. Kweku was one of those that perceived their boss to be racist towards them. He said,

I had a manager who was so horrible and would say the nastiest things to me. He would always remind me of how lucky I was to have my job. There were three other African-Canadians working there and they all left because they were treated so poorly.

Chio, another participant narrated how she was singled out for differential treatment and prejudice by an inspector at her workplace. Narrating her experience, she stated,

The manager took him around, introducing him to us and at the same time, explaining some of the stuff that we do. When the man was introduced to me and the manager was saying this is what we do and all that, the man just pointed to me and said, 'does she do that too' in a way that did not sound nice at all. So, this man walked into a workplace, there are about seven white professionals in that department and there is a black one. He immediately assumes that I didn't know the proper things to do, I am supposed to be an idiot because I am dark-skinned.

BEING BLACK IN SUDBURY

The title above given to this category has been used by scholars to refer to the dominant idea that being black is an offence in itself due to the controversial link between race and crime for blacks (Carbado, 2002; Butler, 2010). Its use in this study reflects the general prejudice and

negative experiences that trail African-Canadians in Sudbury for the simple reason that they are Blacks and African-Canadians.

Negative Depiction by Mainstream Media and Society

Participants encountered perceived discrimination in various aspects and instances. They believe this was as a result of the notion held by the dominant race that African-Canadians are inferior and therefore, they cannot bring themselves to deliver services to them.

Participants are also of the perception that members of their race are depicted as low lives and criminals by the mainstream news media, hence the treatment they receive from the dominant race.

Nneka, a participant, explained,

Each time I watch the news, whether it is happening in Toronto, Montreal, or anywhere else, and I hear that a man stole this or a man killed someone or a man did that. I take a breather because I know it is not a black person. This is because once it is a black person, the news media says a Black man. They hardly put the race on when its not a black person. If it's a white person, the race comes after, later on, but the moment it is proven to be a black person, even sometimes they are not quite sure, boom! It's a Black.

Another participant Tosin, expressing his frustration with the way the black race is associated with only the negative by mainstream media and society stated,

It is sad because whenever something bad happens, I always remind myself that the act was committed by a human being. It doesn't matter who that person is, but that is not the way other people see it. I always get people, who would argue, but Black people do this, they do that. If you find all the people that commit crime, say in Canada, most of them are not Blacks, most of them are not natives, but they are the ones in jail the most.

Another participant Kola who discussed his perceived negative depiction of African-Canadians by mainstream society also stated,

There are bad Blacks, there are good Blacks and the same applies to every racial group. I have encountered white people who are good and I have seen bad ones too. It is wrong to make a blanket comment or assumption about race issues.

Participants believed that Sudbury being a smaller city would be more welcoming and tolerant towards racial minority groups. Some of them expressed their disappointment at finding it to be otherwise.

Leke, a participant who shared this hope that the city would be welcoming stated,

Because in bigger cities, you just feel like you disappear, people don't really care, there is a lot of racism, and everybody is always in a hurry and so when I looked the city up and its really a small place, I felt it would be a good place to go to school, concentrate and focus on what I came here for, and also have people around that are nice.

Kanu, a participant who experienced perceived discrimination in various aspects of his life in the city stated,

I thought people will be a little more open-minded and I find that it is not so. I think it is because a lot of people are maybe ignorant of other people's culture or because they don't know any better, they make assumptions, do not act nice and tend to make comments that are not nice.

Differential Treatment in Services

Some participants feel like they are rendered invisible sometimes because they perceive that they are consistently ignored by the dominant race. This happens a lot when they are standing in lines for one service or the other. Tosin, said that he finds himself ignored most times when in queue and according to him, *"I practically have to shout 'excuse me!' before they attend to me"*.

Sometimes, not only are these participants ignored, they are also skipped over for the next person in the line. Elo recounted an incident that took place in a restaurant, he said,

The waiter saw me standing and completely ignored me pretending that she was very busy. Three men walked in minutes later and she proceeded to show them to their table. I had to call her attention that I had been standing there before they came and she goes, 'oh, I thought you were with them' I had to leave the restaurant because I was so upset to eat there.

Many participants were refused services in restaurants in the city. Leke and his friend were forced to leave a restaurant because no one was ready to talk to them. He said,

I went to the restaurant with my friend who is also an African-Canadian. Nobody came to take our orders and we sat there for about an hour. We had to leave the restaurant because no one was talking to us.

In Chine's case, someone came to their table to say that she will be back in a minute and according to him, *"nobody ever came back to our table, we had to leave"*.

Differential Treatment in The Use of The Public Transit

Participants also experienced differential treatment when using the public transit. Lola, a participant described one of her experiences. She said,

Some of the bus drivers are not very nice, this driver saw us approaching and started putting down his ramp which almost hit my 3year old. He did not apologise and was very rude to us, yelling at me to get in.

Keffi, another participant said that he had a driver accept someone who was right in front of him for a change that was less and then told him, *“if you don’t have enough money, just get out of my bus”*.

Chuka, a participant saw his bus approaching and started waving for it to stop and according to him, *“the bus driver got to where I was standing, stopped a little and then just drove off”*.

In the three experiences described above, while there was no verbal communication of any racist words, the acts represented a signal of dislike, and refusal to serve participants. There was a refusal to offer them the services being given to other members of the community. African-Canadians saw no other justification for the perceived discriminatory treatments they encountered other than the fact that they are considered to be different, inferior and not accepted because of their racial origin.

Shopping experiences

In participants’ relations with the majority race, they experienced doubts and mistrust by them. They perceived themselves to be treated as ‘suspects’, and mostly for crimes which are yet to be committed. They believe that their words count for nothing even when they try to reverse those suspicions. Nona, a participant who usually cashes his salary by the month was so busy that he was unable to do so for a month. He eventually collected his cheque after six weeks and went to the bank to cash it, describing his experience at the bank, he stated,

I started getting all these weird questions. There were people in front of me and they cashed their cheques without any questions. They refused to accept the cheque because according to them, they were not sure of its source. That didn’t make sense to me because for one, I have been their customer for years. I was there to deposit the cheque in my account and not even to cash it. They felt I stole the cheque because they probably didn’t expect me to possess a cheque with that amount of money.

Tosin, another participant, recounted an incident that happened when he went to the store with his child.

According to him,

My daughter came into the store with her little bike because we did not bring a chain and were afraid that it would get stolen outside. After paying for our groceries, the cashier told us that she wanted to scan the bike. I explained to her that it was an old bike that was even purchased in Toronto, but she would not budge. She insisted that it was their bike and she had to scan it, I had to ask to speak with their manager. She believed that I stole that bike with my daughter and treated me with so much mistrust because of my race.

Participants perceived a lot of attention on themselves whenever they entered a store. They felt closely followed and monitored in stores and did not see other shoppers being treated the same way. Shana explaining this experience stated,

I noticed that every time I go into this store, the security guy just follows me around. At one time, he was following me so tightly that we almost bumped into each other when I turned. He believed I was going to steal from the store because I am dark-skinned.

Chine, another participant who had a similar experience, said,

I went to a store, and this guy pretty much follows me everywhere around the store trying to explain one thing or the other. There were other shoppers in the store, and nobody was following or explaining anything to them. I knew he was keeping an eye on me.

Some African-Canadians like Nneka did not only get followed around the store; they were also followed to the cash to watch them bring out all their purchases and pay.

No attempt was made by the security to conceal this 'singling out of only one individual out of many others in the store for close surveillance' and according to Nneka, *"I found it so embarrassing and upsetting."*

SETTLEMENT CHALLENGES

This theme reflects the experiences of participants who are new in Sudbury as well as that of the older residents when they arrived in the city. It describes the challenges encountered by participants based on their status as both new immigrants and visible minorities in Sudbury.

Few participants who had families and friends residing in Sudbury relied on those individuals for information about available services designed to meet their settlement needs, as well as guidance on how to access those services. For a majority of the participants, however, they had no friends and family in Sudbury, so they did not have that privilege.

Describing her experience when she arrived in Sudbury, Nona explained,

We were recruited from different cities in our country. We came and stayed with our boss for some time till we got somewhere to rent. There was nothing or no one that said welcome, and this is where you can go do this or that. We had to figure things out by ourselves.

Nona also added, “I did not know about any government programmes, and the city was not welcoming at all for me...I felt lost”

Kweku, who moved to Sudbury alone and knew nobody in town said,

I did not get any form of assistance to settle into the city. I did not hear about any welcome centers. It was difficult trying to find all the information that I needed.

Elo, another participant, added,

It was hard for me to settle in when I moved to Sudbury. I was clueless as to who and where to go to for the services I needed and I did not get any assistance from anywhere.

Many of the participants did not think that the city had immigrant settlement programs and welcome centers and they discussed the importance of this and the difference it would make in the lives of new immigrants. Chio, who stated that he did not get any information or assistance as a new immigrant in the city stated,

I am not sure if they have welcome centers here. They have them in other cities like Winnipeg, and it is really helpful. Volunteers in these centers welcome newcomers and follow up on their progress with settling down in the city. I find that this helps immigrants and visible minorities a lot because you come into a place where you do not know anyone, and you do not look like the majority of the people, and you feel like you are so out of place, so I feel Sudbury needs that.

Chine, a participant, got to find out about YMCA settlement services when she typed in ‘help for new immigrants in Sudbury’ on Google. She stated that she availed herself of the services of YMCA but did not record any success regarding finding a job which was her primary reason for contacting them. According to her,

I was job searching then, and I had a couple of interviews with them. They suggested a couple of things I could do to upgrade my resume and even how to write a good resume. However, I still do not have a job, and there has been no follow up from them.

For Anyi, a francophone African-Canadian, she was not directed to where she could get help with settling in Sudbury. She only heard about the francophone community center, which she was told, assists francophone new immigrants to settle in the city. She stated,

I went to the francophone community center; they did not take members then because they were full and were also occupied with other issues. We did not get any help from them or the city, and we later met friends who helped us with advice and information about the community. Now, I know there is the YMCA.

New immigrant participants also encountered difficulties with the transport system in Sudbury. It was hard for them to find where to get bus information and passes. It was also hard for them to get around in the city due to limited bus times. Ada said,

One of the problems here is transport. I use common transport, and I find it hard moving around. It was also hard getting to find out where to get bus passes and times. The bus also runs every two hours, sometimes more which is so inconvenient.

Participants lamented the absence of an immigration service in Sudbury. Chio stated, “I was looking for immigration services to answer my questions about my husband’s immigration to Canada and I found none”.

The absence of immigration services in the city according to participants have brought them untold inconvenience and hardship. They find themselves having to travel to Toronto or Ottawa for all their immigration needs no matter how small it might be. Kanu who expressed his frustration with this issue stated,

The city should have at least one individual who can answer questions immigrants may have, a kind of reference person who is allowed to handle or talk about immigration issues. You have the newcomers here, the city may try to take care of them, but when we come here, we do not forget our families. It is hard, you ask a government official, and they say, oh, this is immigration issue, and we are not allowed to discuss it.

COPING STRATEGIES

This theme reflects the various ways in which participants made sense of what they went through when they experienced perceived prejudice and discrimination. It is also representative of the methods employed by African Canadians to cope with perceived discrimination.

Many African-Canadians in the study accepted the reality of racism. These participants were not in denial or doubt about the existence of racial discrimination.

They acknowledged that racism is a fact of life here in Sudbury and it happened to them. Tosin, a participant, argued that *“discrimination exists not only in Sudbury but all over the world thus, making it a way of life.”*

Leke, another participant also stated,

Black people are originally from Africa. Is there discrimination in Africa? Absolutely yes. Based on tribal differences, based on language, based on religion. So, preferential treatment happens all the time and everywhere and they are going to happen regardless.

Participants have the perception that they are one of the least regarded racial minority groups in the city; therefore, they are frequently subjected to discrimination. These African-Canadians may have been embarrassed, upset, horrified or even traumatized when they encountered perceived racism but it did not surprise them. Instead, they tried to think of possible reasons why people ‘act out’ against them in the form of various racist acts and slurs. Nene, a participant, used a fictional ladder to describe African-Canadians’ perception of the place of their racial group in the Sudbury society. According to her,

When it comes to racism in the city, it is gradual. If you are not White or Anglo-Saxon, you go down to the next level which would be Chinese, and this group could be considered ok. Next would be the East Indians, and then the Filipinos who may be considered ok as long as their skin is light and their hair and nose are straight. Then, the ok ladder will be going down, then the Natives and Blacks are right there, at the bottom of the ladder.

Some participants although they acknowledged the fact of racism, attempted to find explanations and excuses for seemingly discriminatory acts which they encountered, Chio, one of such participants stated,

I am not saying that we are different, but people react to something that is considered different in a certain way, whether consciously or unconsciously. Some of the signals we receive may not be intended to be discriminatory, but because we are sitting on the other side of the fence, it is easy to take it the wrong way and let it affect us negatively.

Participants thought of those explanations in a bid to feel better about themselves when confronted with racism. They encouraged and reminded themselves that there could be other possible reasons for the perceived discrimination they faced. According to Ada,

Instead of getting upset, I think about certain things. Maybe that person is having a bad day, maybe his dog is sick, so I make excuses for them.

Kanu, another participant, also said,

Even when racist words and names are directed at me and obviously intended as an insult, I still refuse to see or take it that way. For me, those individuals do not know any better; they are suffering from lack of exposure and ignorance.

For some African-Canadians, being racial minorities in a predominately white city meant that there was not much they could do regarding confronting their attackers.

They knew that there was nothing they could do about their race, to make better their situation since one does not influence his or her racial origin. According to Kola, *"I cannot change my race even if I wanted to, so, why don't I just focus on things that work and are in my favor"*.

None of the participants engaged in verbal or other forms of confrontation with the perpetrators of the perceived racist acts they encountered. Instead, many of them vented out their feelings to family and friends. They reflected on the implications of such a confrontation and chose to make peace with the experience. Leke, one of such participants, explained that

"discrimination exists here and everywhere and one cannot sit and wallow..." He went on and said, *"We can fight it in different ways, but we also have to find harmony; otherwise, it is hard to live together."*

Nona, another participant, also stated,

There is resistance to acceptance. The society we live in, with all the politics could get intense, but there is only so much you can do. I pick my battles.

Some of these African-Canadians chose to stay positive in the face of perceived discrimination they experienced. According to Kanu,

Even if we believe one hundred percent that things are this way, we can still try to come out of it by thinking that maybe there is something on the other side and it might not be the way I see it.

Participants refused to let the discriminatory experiences they encountered define them. Instead, they chose to focus on the valuable life lessons which they drew from their racist encounters. African-Canadians viewed their negative experiences as being designed to make them to be better individuals.

Nneka echoing this thought stated,

Knowing the fact that you are a minority, you have to do something that will make you different from the rest. When you know that you are competing with people that are already favored, you have to do something extraordinary.

Ada reminiscing on her experience said,

Realising that you are minority and not normally the first choice for schools, jobs and other stuff makes you work extra hard.

Shana, another participant who believed that he turned around all the negative experiences he encountered as an African-Canadian for his own good stated,

You are pushed to excel, and I see it as a positive. Those who push themselves, get better jobs, positions, income, and lives because they strive to be above average.

Participants chose to look past the negative experiences they encountered on account of their race. They instead preferred to focus on the opportunities, which the city offered them as individuals and did not let their perceived discriminatory experiences break them. According to Leke,

If we put aside the underlying racial issues, Sudbury is not a bad place. There are certain things that you might experience, but you have to look past that, and that is what I do every day.

Summary

This chapter focused on the themes extracted from the interviews, which contribute to understanding the race-related experiences of African-Canadian study participants in a predominately white small city. The themes extracted from the findings are social interaction, employment, Black in Sudbury, settlement issues and coping strategies. Study participants perceived discrimination in their interpersonal relations with the dominant race. While they experienced positive and rewarding relations with their teachers in the academic environment, they encountered prejudice and discrimination in their interaction with mainstream students. This chapter also highlighted participants' experiences through the job application process and in the workplace and presented some of the perceived discriminatory experiences as recounted by participants. It identified the settlement challenges which new African-Canadian immigrants encounter to include social support, employment, lack of information on available services, difficulties with the transport system and absence of immigration services in the city.

When confronted with discrimination, participants tried to feel better about themselves by making excuses for the negative treatments, as well as taking it as a fact of life. They did not engage in confrontation with the perpetrators but reflected on their experiences and viewed it as having the ability to make them better in various aspects of their lives. We saw from the findings that some of the encounters participants experienced with classmates, colleagues, supervisors and other members of the dominant race were racist or had racist elements. All of the themes described in this chapter are interrelated, and the relationship between them enable for a better understanding of the experiences of study participants.

The next chapter presents a discussion of this study's findings and its relation to similar findings in existing literature.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to examine how African-Canadians have experienced race relations with the dominant culture. The findings of this study are educative regarding the experiences of perceived discrimination encountered by African-Canadians and how they give meaning to these experiences. The qualitative data elicited statements of different perceived experiences of discrimination. The data also provided a peek into the frustration and pain that African-Canadians continue to experience as a result of their racial origin and skin color. This chapter discusses these findings in line with the findings in existing and related literature.

Counter-storytelling

Counter-storytelling is one of the tenets of critical race theory, which is the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of this study. It is a robust method of recounting the lived experiences of individuals from marginalized groups. Counter-storytelling is explained as telling a story with the purpose of challenging the validity of commonly believed myths held by the dominant race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Critical race theory gives African-Canadians a voice to tell their stories themselves so that who they are and what they experience as individuals and members of a visible minority group may be known through counter-storytelling (Matsuda, 1995). The dominant discourse about African-Canadians is the discourse that is believed and accepted by mainstream society without the inclusion of the views of these African-Canadians who are the focus of the discourse. Critical race theory insists on the inclusion of the perspectives of this 'silenced' group of people who are not only 'othered' but whose views are also unacknowledged because they are not in a position of power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

All of the study participants are acutely aware of the dominant narrative about African-Canadians and are interested in playing a central role in disproving this dominant story by describing their life experiences as African-Canadians living in Sudbury (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). They are also aware that the dominant discourse about Blacks/African-Canadians reinforce stereotypes which have criminalized, marginalized and 'othered' members of this visible minority group. Study participants through "counter-storytelling" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) were given the opportunity to tell their own stories, as they experienced it, in their own words. They particularly, illuminated how they perceived discriminatory treatments in a multicultural city which emphasizes diversity.

Reasons for Choosing to Live in Sudbury

African-Canadians move to Sudbury to attend schools, for job opportunities which the city offers and generally, for a better life for themselves and their dependents. Some of the reasons why visible minorities migrate to Canada were identified by Lu et al. (2015), and they include immigration for educational purposes. Study participants' reasons for migrating to Sudbury are also similar to some of the reasons identified by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) as the reasons why individuals choose to settle in Canada. According to CIC, people immigrate to Canada for jobs, family unification, and education purposes (CIC, 2015). Canada as a country has one of the lowest unemployment rates (Labour force Survey, 2016). This excellent standard of living explains the attraction to Canada and Sudbury in particular, where some African-Canadians were able to secure jobs even before they decided to move to the city.

The Effect of Race on Interpersonal Relations

Race has an undeniable effect on the way individuals are perceived in the society notwithstanding any arguments one may have to the contrary. Our embodied reality has historically been used as a basis for discrimination; therefore, race plays a role in human interaction (Gusfield, 2003). Human interaction is necessary for survival in any society and participants in the course of navigating their lives in Sudbury were faced with various encounters some of which they believed not to be palatable. Many African-Canadians in this study believed that their race and culture affected their interpersonal relations with members of the dominant race, albeit negatively. The effect of this reality for them is that adaptation to life in the community is made even more difficult. This perception of study participants corresponds to findings in existing studies which indicate that immigrants are faced with many difficulties in adapting to life in Canada, and this hardship is a lot more for visible minorities than Whites (Wu, Schimmele & Hou, 2010). No two races or cultures are the same therefore cultural differences come with race. Racial status is also known to have a significant influence on social integration in Canada (Wu, Schimmele & Hou, 2010). Study participants had difficulties relating to the dominant race and integrating into their various environments as a result of how some aspects of their culture, for instance, foods, are received by the dominant race. They believe that because some part of their culture is different from the norm or unknown to mainstream society, it is concluded to be different and therefore offensive.

Perceived Discrimination by Francophone African-Canadians

Francophone participants, in addition to their interpersonal encounters with mainstream society which they described to be challenging, also encountered discrimination and marginalization from the francophone majority in Sudbury.

They thought they would receive a warm welcome from the francophone community, the reason being that they share the same first language but were disappointed with the coldness they received from them. They were told that their 'French' and accent were different and many members of the francophone majority preferred not to communicate with them in French. The experiences of these francophone participants resonate the argument by Madibbo (2006) who contends that Black francophones are faced with multiple marginalization based on their language and race, and the discrimination which they face is perpetuated by white francophones and Anglophone society. The Black francophones in the study perceived the White francophones as constituting another mainstream within the larger White society and this to them was another majority and minority scenario. African-Canadian francophones in the study also contend that they face discrimination within the francophone community and this is in addition to the discrimination they also encounter in the Anglophone mainstream society making them doubly jeopardized (Madibbo, 2006).

Questions from Mainstream Society

In the course of their interpersonal relations with mainstream society, participants described being plagued with many questions. Some of these questions were about their nationality, the most popular being, "where are you from"? They got these questions even when some of them have spent most or all of their lives in Canada. Some of these questions may have been asked politely and with a genuine intent to kick off a conversation, but the individuals at the receiving end were mostly uncomfortable with them. This type of question has been interpreted to mean a case of 'othering' and ignorance on the part of the person asking the questions (James & Shadd, 2001). Although individuals may mean well when they ask this type of question, it may have a different meaning and connotation to the visible minority who may be reminded that he or she is different and belongs somewhere else (James, 2001). The effect mentioned above is the outcome that these questions had on participants. Even where participants believed that the questions were asked without any ill-will, it did not change the negative feeling it elicited. They perceived themselves as being seen as the 'outsiders' and the dominant race, seen as 'the real Canadians' even when they grew up with some of them in Sudbury. It meant for them that no matter how long they have lived in Canada, they will always be seen as outsiders. James & Shadd (2001) aptly state,

...by asking me where I am from; you intentionally deny me what is rightfully mine- my birthright, my heritage, and my long-standing place in the Canadian mosaic (James & Shadd, 2001, p.15).

Yesufu (2013) advocates that cultural sensitivity is required in every institution across all levels in Canada and this it is believed, will promote more acceptance of every individual. Perhaps, this will also educate individuals from different races to understand each other to avoid the hurt and confusion that comes with culturally sensitive questions.

Race Relations in The Social Context of Schools

When it comes to race relations in the academic environment, there appear to be conflicting findings on the existence of racism. Existing studies report instances of racism at Canadian higher institutions (Henry & Tator, 2009). Studies have also denied the existence of racism in schools (Grayson, 1995). In light of these notions, student-participants were asked questions which gave them the opportunity to describe their experiences in the academic environment.

Most of the student-participants enjoyed a positive relationship with their professors. The teachers were perceived by these students to be fair and exhibited no form of bias or prejudice in the classroom. The students described their teachers as going over and beyond their duties to help them out when they encountered difficulties with their academic work. Consequently, these students had no issues with passing and getting good grades in their coursework. The positive feelings and outcome experienced by African-Canadian students in this study, which is a fallout from their student/teacher experience were acknowledged by Samuel & Burney (2003) who emphasized that positive relations with faculty have constructive, encouraging and affirming experiences for minority students. However, contrary to the finding by Samuel & Burney (2003) that differential treatment, inequity, and negligence are perceived in the interaction between minority students and mainstream faculty, the present study reported no incident or experience of teacher bias towards participants. Study participants found their teachers and other staff helpful and accommodating, and they felt at ease interacting with them.

International students among this group of participants also enjoyed a positive relationship with faculty. They neither perceived themselves as being treated differently nor lacked the academic support enjoyed by the domestic students. This experience is contrary to the finding by Grayson (2008), which suggests that domestic students had access to more support than their international counterparts. Participants described the willingness of the academic staff to help with queries about their school work the same way they assisted mainstream students. Grayson (1995) acknowledged the possible existence of different student experiences in schools when he argued that the experiences at York University where another study found the existence of racism in the school, cannot be said to be typical of all Canadian universities. This finding implies that every academic environment could have a different racial climate. Just as students' race-related experiences could vary amongst institutions, students' experiences with faculty and their experiences with mainstream students could also be different.

While study participants enjoyed a positive relationship with their teachers and other staff, this was not the case with their fellow students. They described many incidents of perceived

discrimination. They experienced silent treatments and felt physically isolated. They also heard mainstream students use racist slurs openly. This exemplifies 'biological racism' (Ojo, 2016), which is racism woven into the words and images used to describe Blacks. The implication of this for participants was that not only were these students being racist; they cared less about how they felt by using these racist words openly in public places. These experiences are similar to the findings by Swim et al. (2003), where the students reported experiencing verbal expressions of prejudice, difficulties in interpersonal exchanges amongst other issues. It is worthy of note that none of the participants in this study presented the dominant emotion reported by Swim et al. (2003), which was anger. Study participants were not angry. Instead, they expressed their disappointment that an academic community made up of aspiring scholars and scholars from diverse background could still be filled with prejudice and bias.

African-Canadian participants described limited interaction with mainstream students. Few of them claimed that they were not naturally outgoing and for most of them, they believed that the majority students did not wish to interact with them. They complained of the presence of pre-existing groups from the classroom to everywhere around the school and expressed how hard it is to break into these groups to create relationships. As a result of the difficulties mentioned above, participants found themselves alone and lonely most of the time and had very few friends in school. The description of participants on how they spend their time mostly in their company show self-segregation (Samuel, 2005). It has been found that minority students who experience feelings of exclusion and marginalization tend to segregate themselves and interact less with their White peers (Samuel, 2005). Participants also felt a lack of connection when they tried to interact with majority students. They believed it was difficult for them to understand each other and thought that this could be as a result of their racial and cultural differences. Ogbu, (1991) acknowledged this outcome when he reiterated that primary cultural differences have the likelihood to cause problems in interpersonal and intergroup relations in addition to other difficulties. Individuals from various races are known to have different values and culture, and this could impede social relations if attempts are not made to understand one another.

Some of the conflicts in interpersonal and intergroup relations caused by cultural differences and misunderstandings as suggested by Ogbu (1991) were evident in some of the participants' experiences with the dominant race. An instance is one of the participant's descriptions of the negative reaction she got from her colleagues because she was eating her ethnic food which her colleagues considered to be 'offensive.' This type of experience and conflict could be avoided if individuals learned to understand and tolerate ethnic and cultural differences.

Perceived Discrimination in Employment

Studies of visible minorities in Canada most times start by acknowledging that they are disadvantaged in the labor market (Hum & Simpson, 1999). It is vital to note that the Canadian Human Rights Act and similar legislation at the provincial level prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, amongst other grounds (S.3,5.7 CHRA). This Act came into force because of racial discrimination experienced by visible and other minorities in Canada. There is also the Canadian Employment Equity Act which is designed to combat discrimination against racialized groups, women and disabled persons in the Canadian workplaces (S. 2 Employment Equity Act). Despite these provisions to ensure equality and justice to every individual in Canada irrespective of their race, existing literature reiterate that institutional racism abound and persist in the labor market (Galabuzi, 2006). Visible minorities continue to receive unfair and discriminatory treatment from their clients, colleagues, and managers (Galabuzi, 2006). Block & Galabuzi echo the fact of racism experienced by visible minorities in the Canadian labor market, according to it,

Despite years of unprecedented economic growth and an increasingly diverse population, this report (Canada's color-coded labor market: The gap for racialized workers) confirms what so many Canadians have experienced in real life: a color code is still at work in Canada's labor market. Racialized Canadians encounter a persistent color code that blocks them from the best paying jobs our country has to offer (Block & Galabuzi 2011:3).

African-Canadians encountered experiences of perceived discrimination in various aspects of employment in Sudbury. Most of these participants sent several job applications with their resumes in response to job advertisements for which they met the criteria. They felt frustrated at this stage because they did not even get invited to interviews and they believed this to be as a result of discrimination. Participants' perception of discrimination at the job application process is supported by existing studies which indicate that immigrants in Canada face differential treatment beginning at the job application level (Oreopoulous, 2009). The likely reasons why participants encountered discrimination in this context could be the foreign countries where they obtained their academic qualifications. It could also be as a result of the names on their resumes, which indicate that they are racial minorities. Name discrimination has been recognized by existing studies to occur in the labor market (Oreopoulous, 2009). Name discrimination occur in the labor market because employers treat a name as a signal that an applicant may lack critical language or social skills for the job (Oreopoulous & DeChief, 2012).

While participants encountered many barriers in their quest to secure employment in the city, they did not report difficulties with accreditation from their respective career regulatory bodies.

It appears that the pathway to accreditation was well spelled out for them and they understood the necessary steps and examinations to take for their qualifications to be recognized in Sudbury and Ontario. This is contrary to the finding by Basran & Jong (1998), where respondents complained that the government, professional and educational bodies do not adequately recognize the credentials of foreign-trained professionals. Plausible reasons for the finding by this study could be that new policies which make for a fair evaluation of foreign credentials have been formulated by the regulatory bodies and government. Another reason could be that this study's participants were fortunate enough to have career regulatory bodies that are less complicated and have more straightforward rules that govern accreditation in Canada in comparison to other career regulatory bodies.

Many study participants, despite getting accredited in Canada and taking up volunteer positions were unable to secure jobs in their chosen fields. This experience is similar to the finding by Block & Galabuzi (2011), which showed that notwithstanding the fact that visible minorities in Canada participate more in the labor market, they have a higher rate of unemployment and earn less income than the white majority group. It is no gainsaying that not having a source of livelihood makes this group of visible minorities more susceptible to poverty. According to Galabuzi (2006), as a result of discrimination in the labor market, visible minorities are "unequally exposed to poverty." The phrase 'unequally exposed to poverty' was used by Galabuzi (2006) to explain the racialization of poverty which means that people from racial minority groups are more likely to have fewer job opportunities, and have a low income.

Once participants got their first jobs and found themselves in the labor market, it became easier for them to switch jobs or get new jobs. The reason for this could be that their work ethic which was hitherto unknown would have been observed by employers and supervisors who are then willing to offer them new or different job positions. These employers might also be willing to recommend them for other jobs. Another reason why participants found it easier to get other jobs after their first job could also be because they had acquired 'Canadian work experience' which many employers consider very important, and most times a prerequisite for a job position. Existing literature point out that hiring practices in Canada have been shown to depend a lot on professional experience and network (George & Chaze, 2014). These factors alone severely limit the chances of visible minorities to secure employment like every other individual in the country.

The nature and trends of racial discrimination in Canada show that a majority of legal cases of discrimination are related to racial discrimination after hiring, referred to as "treatment discrimination" by Al-waqfi & Jain (2008).

One of the reasons suggested for this is that human rights legislation and employment equity policies are more effective in eliminating 'access discrimination' than treatment discrimination which is mostly hidden and difficult to combat.

Another reason is that people are believed to have more to lose by accepting discriminatory treatment when they are employed than when they are seeking employment. Also, individuals are more likely to recognize unequal treatment while on the job rather than before they are formally employed (Al-waqfi & Jain, 2008). African Canadians in this study experienced perceived discrimination in the course of their employment or treatment discrimination. These discriminatory acts were perpetrated by clients, colleagues, supervisors, and employers. Participants encountered incidents where they were addressed rudely by supervisors, bypassed for promotions and were made the subjects of rude jokes and derogatory comments by their colleagues and others at work. These experiences correspond to the finding by Al-waqfi & Jain (2008) as earlier stated.

Study participants' experiences correlate with findings in existing literature which suggest that clear or express verbal cases of discrimination are common (D'Augeli & Hershberger, 1993). However, existing literature also contend that changes in societal norms have made explicit racism less socially acceptable (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001). Consequently, people no longer openly discriminate against visible minorities. Racial discriminatory acts are more likely to be hidden or subtle than open (George & Chaze, 2014; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997). These findings are contrary to the experiences of study participants in the context of the discussion. It is not clear why participants were openly discriminated against in the workplace. Reason for this could be their job position or employment level. Some of the participants who described discriminatory treatment at work either have highly skilled professional jobs or they occupy top positions in their workplaces. It is a possibility that the clients who meet with them are so 'shocked' to see African-Canadians having those jobs and occupying those positions that they had little time to compose themselves and 'mask' their feelings. It could also be that the jobs are so highly competitive that individuals can say or do what they like, as long as they get the job done.

Even when these African-Canadians have more work experience and work very hard at their jobs, they were paid less than their colleagues with the same job responsibilities and work hours. The existence and experience of earning differentials as recounted by participants have been acknowledged by existing studies (Pendakur & Pendakur 1998; Hum & Simpson, 1999). Racial discrimination in employment could also occur when visible minorities face wage discrimination.

Wage discrimination has been explained as,

a situation, where visible minorities with the same experience, occupying similar positions and working under the exact same conditions as the dominant group receive lower remuneration than them” (Ehrenberg, Smith, & Chaykowski, 2000:372).

Hum & Simpson (1999) found that even when there was no significant wage gap between visible minority and non-visible minority group membership for native-born workers, the only exception was for African-Canadians. There was found to be a significant earning differential between Blacks and other Canadians. This suggests that African-Canadians encounter more discrimination in the labor market (Hum & Simpson, 1999). Findings in existing literature indicate that African-Canadians as a visible minority group suffer wage disparity and disadvantage more than other visible minority groups (Hou, 1996). Some participants who perceived discrimination in this context were born outside Canada, and they believed this to be contributory to their experiences. According to Nakhaie (2006), there is a general perception among African-Canadians that their countries of birth and the stereotypes that it attracts negatively affect their employment opportunities. Although study participants who encountered these experiences were fluent in English, their accent could also be one of the reasons for their perceived discrimination. It is interesting to note that majority of the participants who described earning lower wages than their colleagues with the same job specifications and hours were women. All of these women also obtained their academic qualifications outside of Canada. This is however not surprising in the light of existing literature which suggest that visible minority women who are foreign degree holders suffer a significant earning disadvantage in the Canadian labor market (Li, 2001). All of the African-Canadian women in this study who suffered wage discrimination work in the private sector. The reason for this, according to Hou & Coulombe (2010), could be because the public sector is not only mandated, but also have the resources to implement employment equity regulations.

Interest Convergence Tenet Of CRT

The notion of interest convergence (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) which is one of the tenets of critical race theory, guiding the framework of this research is manifested in participants' experiences in the context of employment. Bell (1980) argues that the basic rights which Blacks enjoy came only in as much as they converged with the self-interests of Whites. Members of the dominant race would refrain from racial discrimination as stipulated in the Canadian constitution and other laws as long as it serves their purpose, does not disrupt their lives, and there is a benefit in it for them (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Many study participants have their graduate and some postgraduate degrees. Amongst these well-educated individuals, only a few of them who are healthcare professionals encountered no difficulties whatsoever in getting jobs in their fields. Many of them got job offers before they decided to move to Sudbury.

The rest of these equally educated participants in other professions encountered many challenges before securing jobs in their fields, are unemployed or employed in less qualified positions and lower paying jobs. The reason why these African-Canadian healthcare practitioners who have foreign qualifications had jobs readily available to them is likely to be because there are not enough of these professionals to meet the healthcare needs of the community.

The interest convergence factor is seen in the desire of the government to build an efficient and adequate healthcare system by recruiting more African-Canadian and other visible minority healthcare personnel to serve the needs of the people. These professionals are accepted and welcomed without discrimination based on their race and country of qualification, and this is because of the services they offer to the mainstream society. The government's interest in building an efficient healthcare system converges with some African-Canadian healthcare professionals' need and desire to practice their career in Sudbury and also earn some income for themselves and families. Because these professionals are needed by mainstream society, they are willing to suspend every bias and prejudice they may have and employ them to sustain the healthcare sector. Critical race theory suggests that these decisions to employ the healthcare professionals are made to the extent that they were not seen as a significant disturbance to the dominant race (Bell, 1980), and as seen in this case, they had nothing to lose and a lot to benefit.

Whiteness as Property

Some of the discriminatory experiences of African-Canadians in the workplace exemplify another tenet of critical race theory which is whiteness as property (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Property rights, according to Harris (1995), include the right to possession, the right to use, and the right to disposition. It is argued that these attributes of property have been historically used in establishing whiteness as property (Harris, 1995). These attributes of property are seen in this study where some participants perceived their colleagues as having a sense of entitlement to their jobs and communicated same to them. They believed the jobs were theirs because they are members of the dominant race. This is seen in the findings where participant was moved from a branch office to a different one and later went back to the previous office. Her colleague, who had spent less time in the company, told her that he had fulfilled his legal obligation to hire a black person, being her. Participant explained that she was never hired by this colleague. The colleague, irrespective of the fact that participant started working in that organization before her, believed that he had more rights and claims to that organization because he is White.

Participants also verbalized this perception of whiteness as property and according to one of them, "...a lot of white people take advantage of the fact that 'this is ours,' that is the way they look at it. They forget the fact that there were people who were here before they came, whom the land belongs to".

Study Participants' Experiences in Other Aspects of Their Lives in Sudbury

African-Canadians cannot escape connections to their race even if they want to; this is because who they are in mainstream society is related to their origin to a large extent (Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). For many of them, their dark skin, and other unique features distinguish them from other races and make them very 'visible.'

Participants encountered various perceived discriminatory treatments, from being pointedly ignored to open expressions of prejudice by members of the dominant race. They encountered perceived racism in the public transit, stores, and restaurants. Some of these instances of racism in the public places like restaurants, where participants experienced discrimination have been acknowledged by existing literature as the places where racial minorities encounter a lot of discrimination (Feagin, 1991). Participants were closely monitored in the stores without minding whether they noticed or felt embarrassed by that. This is likely because it is believed to be alright to subject Blacks to close surveillance in such places to prevent theft. Therefore, the security personnel saw nothing wrong with their actions, as it was part of their job. According to critical race theorists, racism has been normalized as part of life in the society which makes it difficult to combat (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Participants felt singled out for these prejudicial treatments, and this gave them the perception that they are already perceived as suspect even if they have no criminal records. Participants' experienced individual racism (Henry & Tator, 2006) and systemic racism (Macpherson, 1999) in their encounters with the dominant race. These racist attitudes and encounters which participants experienced have been described as "everyday racism" (Essed, 1991; Swim et al., 1998). 'Everyday racism' was used by Swim et al. (1998) to explain unfair and prejudicial treatments received by visible minority groups in their interpersonal relations with mainstream society.

Majority of the participants found their encounters with mainstream society to be fraught with skepticism, fear, and mistrust. They always felt under pressure to prove they were honest and not as bad as is generally believed. For some of these participants, they perceived some members of the dominant race to be more suspicious and prejudiced than others. Individual differences and personal stereotypes have been suggested to be related to the activation of Black stereotypes (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). Although high and low prejudiced individuals show significant stereotypical associations for Blacks, high prejudiced individuals have been found to show it more (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). It would appear that many participants encountered highly biased individuals who were very open with their prejudices and discriminatory treatments. Participants perceived themselves as being assigned

characters and attributes because of their race, and the effect of this is ‘stereotyping’ (Henry & Tator, 2003) which unfairly discriminates based on assumptions and dominant discourse. Schoem (1991) succinctly comments on stereotyping, according to him,

The effort takes for us to know so little about one another across racial and ethnic groups is truly remarkable. It is remarkable because we live in the same country, are educated together and work together. Despite all this, despite our lives being intertwined socially, culturally, economically and politically- we still manage to be ignorant of each other. Consequently, what little we know about the world around us is shaped by stereotypes, gossip, rumors, and fear (Schoem, 1991:4).

Study participants attributed much of their racist encounters to stereotyping which is as a result of the adverse portrayal of blacks in the news and other media. This opinion is in line with existing research on mainstream media and African-Canadians which argue that stereotyping of visible minorities could be either as a result of individual prejudice and ethnocentrism or due to ‘institutional, operational dynamic of the media’ (Ojo, 2016). The discourses of the Canadian mass media, whether consciously or unconsciously has been recognized to have the effect of “stigmatizing” groups of people based on their ethnicity and skin color (Henry & Tator, 2003: 9). Many of the questions and comments participants got about the ‘horrendous’ life in Africa is mostly from the negative stories from the media. Many members of the majority race may not have been to Africa, and they rely heavily on information from the news media. They believe everything they hear from these secondary sources and this is translated into the negative views and stereotypes which they have about African-Canadians. A plausible reason why participants experienced close surveillance in the stores and other encounters with the dominant race was suggested by Henry & Tator (2003) where they stated,

Blacks are depicted as the undesirable and dangerous other, and one of the most pervasive and persuasive rhetorical strategies is the racialization of crime. More specifically, the black man is constructed as a threat to the social order and is a symbol of danger. The repetition of this idea and image in the print and electronic media leads to the notion that the black man requires continual surveillance (Henry & Tator, 2003:10)

All the perceived racial discriminatory experiences described by study participants emphasize the ‘permanence of racism’ which is one of the fundamental tenets of Critical race theory (Bell 1992). Racism is believed to be very present and undeniable in the society, and Bell (1995) argues that to understand this fact of the permanence of racism, individuals must realize the enormous influence racism have had in the lives of racialized individuals both historically and in the contemporary society. The discriminatory experiences of participants in restaurants, stores, banks and other public places are in line with existing literature which suggest that all political, economic, and social domains are governed by “racist, hierarchical structures” and these structures privilege Whites/the dominant race (Decuir & Dixson, 2004).

Most of the racist experiences of participants happened in public places. The perpetrators of some of those acts carried them out boldly without fear of reprisals or punishment. The fact that these individuals knew that racial discrimination is prohibited by law, but still believed that they would get away with it, reinforces the notion that racism is permanent and embedded in the structure of the society. Racism is rooted in institutions and determines how they operate and produce inequality (Vue & Newman, 2010).

Racism and the Racial Identity of Participants

Racial identity has been explained as the importance and meaning that individuals from African origin ascribe to race in defining themselves (Sellers, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). Existing literature argue that the historical and contemporary representation of the African continent affect the 'ascribed identity' of members of this visible minority group (Tettey & Puplampi, 2005). Race, ethnicity, and language are also acknowledged as part of the subjective ways in which individuals make sense of their lives, where they are located and speak from, as well as their interpersonal interactions and life experiences (Norquay, 1993).

Winant (1995), discussing the importance of racial identity argued that racial identity is more significant than other identities. According to the study, being color blind is impossible because race is the fundamental element of a person's identity. African-Canadians in this study acknowledged their racial identity and their minority status, and they did not perceive themselves as being put in that category or assigned their identity by mainstream society. In other words, they did not perceive themselves as lesser beings or inferior because of their race, even in the face of perceived discriminatory treatments which could make them feel that way. They embraced their racial identity with pride. Their pride in their racial identity notwithstanding, participants also expressed feeling self-conscious and out of place at being minorities in a predominately white city. This feeling signifies that identity may not be as simple as individuals believe and that many factors, like people and events, determine and affect it (Jaret & Reitzes, 1999). Hall (1999) suggests that "rather than thinking of identity as a fact, it should be thought of as a production which is never complete but work in progress" (Hall, 1999:222).

Perceived discrimination experienced by participants did not negatively affect their racial identity as earlier pointed out. They expressed confidence in themselves and their abilities both as individuals and as members of a visible minority group. This finding corresponds to existing literature which suggest that experiences of racial discrimination bring about stronger and better feelings about racial identity (Dion, Dion & Pak, 1992). However, findings on the effect of racial discrimination on racial identity appear to be conflicting.

This is because some studies have also found no proof of a connection between perceived racial discrimination and ethnic identity (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar & Hou, (1999); Sanders-Thompson, (1996). The conflicting findings notwithstanding, an association between discrimination and depression has been shown to be moderated by an individuals' level of ethnic identification (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar & Hou, 1999). African-Canadians in this study acknowledged their frustration and disappointment at various times when they encountered perceived racism. Although they placed a high value on their racial identity and culture, they did not describe being depressed about their racially discriminatory experiences. This is contrary to some existing studies which emphasize the negative impact that racism exerts on its victims (Noh et al., 1999; Etowa, 2007; Brondolo et al., 2008). The absence of the significant effects of racial discrimination on African-Canadians in this study may be due to many factors including maturity, intellectual capital, a strong sense of self, and personality characteristics.

Existing literature suggest that racial identity beliefs by individuals who feel that their racial group is different and unique in the experiences they encounter are more likely to attribute outcomes to racial discrimination (Outten, Giguere, Schmitt, & Lalonde, 2010). This finding echoes the perception of participants in this study who believe that their experiences as African-Canadians are different from that of the other visible minority groups. Participants believe that members of their racial group are more disadvantaged and experience more prejudice, stereotype, and discrimination than other racial groups in the city. This is seen in the findings where participants described themselves as being at the 'bottom of the ladder' in Sudbury amongst other descriptions they gave. It is not clear whether this fact alone makes participants more likely to attribute outcomes to racial discrimination in this case as they firmly believed that they were discriminated against because of their race. However, it is possible that this played a role in participants' attribution to racial discrimination. Existing literature also argue that some individuals are ready and watchful to pick out discriminatory treatment and ascribe it to racial discrimination, while other individuals choose not to notice when faced with clear signs of discrimination (Crosby, 1984). Some participants described themselves as choosing to be blind to racism even when it is thrown in their faces. This choice to overlook racism, however, did not prevent those participants from acknowledging their perception of discrimination and the negative feelings that accompanied those experiences.

New/Recent Immigrants' Experiences in Sudbury

Settling into the city was a complicated process for most African-Canadians in this study. This may be because formal and informal racial communities and services for minority groups may not be as strong as they are in bigger cities like Toronto. Upon arrival in Sudbury, most of the participants knew no one, while very few of them had a family member or friend in the city.

Participants lacked the necessary social support for network in the city, and this was a significant concern for them.

The importance of social support for immigrants was identified by existing literature which contend that social support plays a significant role in immigrant settlement and also has a positive effect on immigrant health (Simich, Beiser, Stewart, & Mwakarimba, 2005). It is contended that the definition of social support is culture-specific (Norbeck, DeJoseph & Smith, 1996). Stewart and his colleagues (2008) provided various definitions of social support as defined by immigrants from different racial groups. African immigrants defined social support as financial, psychological and moral support and help given to others. Chinese immigrants in the study defined it as a responsibility of the government. Social support in Canada according to the study is also associated with institutions and agencies (Stewart et al., 2008). African-Canadians in this study construe social support widely and as being inclusive of everyone who is in a position to render assistance with settling into the city. Specifically, they describe it to mean assistance from the government, public and private organizations, family, friends and strangers alike.

African-Canadian immigrants in this study made attempts to get support from mainstream society by seeking the services of immigration consultants and requesting guidance from government and other city organizations such as the French community center and YMCA. The support-seeking strategies employed by participants are identified as methods used by immigrants to obtain social support (Stewart et al., 2008). However, for study participants, these strategies were not successful for the most part as they did not get the help or support they needed which were mostly related to employment. Many participants had needs relating to immigration matters, and it was frustrating for them to discover that the city has no immigration office. There was also no city official who was willing to answer any of their pressing questions about immigration. Participants found it hard to get information on how to access the services they needed in the city. They complained about the inconsistency of the public transit as well as problems with getting information about the transit system. Majority of these participants believed that there were no immigrant settlement programmes and assistance for newcomers and this is clearly not the case in Sudbury. Greater Sudbury's city council unanimously adopted the diversity plan in 2005. The purpose of this plan was to ensure that everyone including immigrants and multicultural groups could fully participate in the Sudbury community (<http://www.sudburydiversity.ca>). There are organizations in the city that work to facilitate immigrant settlement and inclusion in Sudbury. Some of these bodies, such as the Newcomer Settlement Program, are funded by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration of Ontario. Other settlement services include contact intercultural francophone de Sudbury settlement program, YMCA, College Boreal, and Sudbury multicultural and folk arts association (<http://www.sudburymulticultural.org>). New immigrants' lack of awareness about these

services and the hardship they suffer as a result indicate communication issues on the part of the city and appropriate bodies to make information readily available to these individuals.

Participants expressed frustration with what they perceived as employers' refusal to accept immigrants because they did not train in Canada. For many of them, obtaining a Canadian equivalent or accreditation did not help the situation. They had to take up menial jobs which they were overqualified for, and consequently, were paid meager wages. This situation was recognized by Galabuzi (2006) where he used the term 'precarious work' to explain the fact that visible minorities despite having higher qualifications are likely to be unemployed or employed in jobs that have low wages, job insecurity, limited social benefits amongst others. Unemployment and employment in jobs not commensurate with participants' qualifications had the effect of making participants feel not settled or integrated into the community. It also unequally exposes these participants to poverty (Galabuzi, 2006).

Some of the settlement challenges which participants encountered in Sudbury include lack or inadequate information on services, unemployment, social isolation and social insecurity. These challenges correspond to the findings by Stewart et al. (2008), which identified settlement barriers that African-Canadians face to be social isolation, social insecurity, unemployment, as well as inadequate information on services. These barriers have been identified as 'systemic obstacles' which are impossible to meet due to limited resources and unfair policies (Stewart et al., 2008).

To address the employment challenges which new immigrants face, Lu et al. (2015) suggest a 'skilled worker internship program' that would allow more employers to meet skilled immigrants of diverse backgrounds which would help them with networking and securing jobs.

Coping Strategies Employed by Participants

Study participants showed strength and resilience in the face of perceived discrimination. When presented with discrimination, majority of the participants tried to understand the reasons why the individuals who discriminated against them, acted the way they did by mentally making excuses for them. They reflected on their experiences and vented to their family and friends. Participants also hoped and believed that their situations would improve. Very few of these participants directly challenged or confronted the perpetrators of the perceived discriminatory acts which they encountered. Existing studies recognize these coping methods adopted by participants as methods employed by racialized groups to cope with racial discrimination. Some of these identified coping methods are emotional debriefing, spiritual-based methods, problem-solving, and collective coping mechanism (Joseph & Kuo, 2009). It is also suggested by Joseph & Kuo (2009), that adoption of any of these coping methods depends on the nature of

discrimination encountered and this was observed by the present study. When faced with interpersonal discrimination, the most preferred coping method for participants was spiritual-centered method, followed by emotional debriefing. Problem-solving and collective coping were the least preferred coping methods for participants. African-Canadians in this study did not utilize the ritual based coping method in any of their discriminatory experiences, and this is contrary to the finding by Joseph & Kuo (2009) that ritual-based coping method is used by individuals of African origin. The reason for this could be their religion, which is an aspect of culture. Culture has been suggested as a factor in determining coping responses to be adopted by visible minorities (Kuo, 1995). Majority of the participants identified as Christians, and it is likely that their religion does not encourage the use of candles and incense to perform rituals which is typical of ritual-based coping mechanism.

Existing literature has described the coping methods mentioned above which are utilized by African-Canadians in this study as “passive acceptance and avoidance (Noh et al., 1999). This suggests that African-Canadians when faced with discrimination appear nonchalant and take no action. Joseph & Kuo (2009) argue that coping methods like acceptance and avoidance which may appear passive are not actually passive. According to Joseph & Kuo (2009), this is because visible minorities employ coping strategies which are suitable and encouraged by their culture and race. These strategies commonly employed by African-Canadians have been termed “Afri-cultural coping” (Joseph & Kuo, 2009). Afri-cultural coping is defined as, “the extent to which individuals of African descent adopt during stressful encounters, coping behaviors specifically derived from African culture” (Joseph & Kuo, 2009).

Majority of study participants were reluctant to engage in any form of confrontation when they encountered perceived discrimination. These participants walked away and chose to deal with those experiences in ways that made sense for them. This corresponds with existing studies which suggest that visible minorities opt for passive mode of reacting to racial discrimination. They have been found to be less likely to engage in verbal and other kinds of confrontation (Joseph & Kuo, (2009); Kuo, (1995). Except for problem-solving strategy which is a general coping method, the rest of the strategies employed by participants in this study fall within the classification of ‘Afri-cultural coping’ (Joseph & Kuo, 2009). As earlier pointed out, culture may also be a reason for participants’ choice of Afri-cultural coping as suggested by existing studies (Kuo,1995). Noh et al. (1999) echo Kuo (1995) on the influence of culture on the coping mechanism to be adopted by visible minorities when it stated that an individuals’ coping methods is seen as being reflective of his or her cultural tradition and values. This means that an individual would react to discrimination in a way that is in line with their beliefs and background (Noh et al., 1999). The nature of some of the discriminatory acts experienced by participants could also be a reason for their choice of Africultural coping.

Some of the racist acts described by participants were subtle therefore they may not have enough evidence to back up their claims, and the perpetrators could easily deny them. Kluegel & Smith (1986) and Kuo (1995) argue that because of the subtle forms which racially discriminatory acts may take, as well as the nature of policies on ground to combat it, visible minorities may not have opportunities and willpower to react to discrimination in a confrontational way. African-Canadians in this study may also have chosen their coping strategies because of their lack of faith and trust in the appropriate authorities to protect them or treat their cases fairly (Kuo, (1995); Kluegel & Smith, (1986). Moreover, some African-Canadians may also fear that filing a complaint will have negative consequences for them (Henry et al., 1995).

Some of the participants who encountered perceived discrimination were new immigrants and students. These conditions may have made them feel powerless and hence their decision to 'pick their battles' as stated by a participant. These feelings are in line with Beiser et al. (2009), which suggest that individuals who do not have personal and social resources available to them may be somewhat limited in the coping methods they will adopt. Peoples' personalities could also determine which coping mechanism they will adopt when faced with perceived discrimination as observed in this study. Individuals who are outspoken, are bound to speak up against any unfairness or injustice meted out to them. On the other hand, as seen with study participants who described themselves as 'laid back,' such individuals are more likely to 'let it go' and resort to passive methods of coping.

Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of the five themes which emerged from the study in the light of existing literature. Critical race theory provided an insight into how race continues to be a significant factor in the lived experiences of African-Canadians. Participants utilized counter-storytelling, a tenet of CRT to tell their stories, by themselves, describing various perceived racial discriminatory experiences they encountered in Sudbury. Some of the experiences described by participants correspond with findings in existing literature relating to discrimination. Interest convergence and whiteness as property, which are notions of CRT, were exemplified in the experiences of African-Canadians in this study. Five themes which emerged from this study are stated below. (1) Social interaction: African Canadians experience perceived discrimination in their interpersonal relations with members of the dominant race. (2) Employment: difficulty in securing jobs because of their race and countries of training, as well as subtle and express acts of racism in the workplace.

(3) Being black in Sudbury: negative stereotyping resulting in prejudice and discrimination which trail African-Canadians because of their skin color and race. (4) Settlement issues: lack of adequate information, support, and services to meet the needs of new immigrants. (5) Coping strategies: African-Canadians utilize non-confrontational mechanisms to deal with perceived discrimination.

The experiences described by study participants demonstrate that racism exists in Sudbury notwithstanding the widespread belief that it has been expunged in Canada.

Chapter six provides a conclusion, limitations of the study, policy recommendations and future research.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This Chapter summarizes the significant findings of this thesis, postulates the contributions the study makes to existing literature and theory, and suggests recommendations and possibility for future research.

Major findings of the study

This thesis examined the influence of race and racism in the lived experiences of 20 African-Canadians in Sudbury. A qualitative research method was chosen due to the nature of the research question. The purpose of this study was to understand and acquire first-hand knowledge of the race-related experiences of African-Canadians, these experiences were described by participants in their own words. This study utilized semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions which gave participants the opportunity to fully and freely describe their experiences.

The prominent themes that emerged from investigating the lived experiences and perceptions of race relations by African-Canadians in Sudbury are stated as follows. (1) Social interaction: Participants experienced perceived discrimination in their interpersonal relations with members of the dominant race. (2) Employment: Participants encountered difficulties securing jobs because of their race and countries of training, as well as subtle and express acts of racism in the workplace. (3) Black in Sudbury: negative stereotyping resulting in prejudice and discrimination, which trails African-Canadians because of their skin color and race. (4) Settlement issues: lack of adequate information, support, and services to meet the needs of new immigrants. (5) Coping strategies: Participants utilize non-confrontational mechanisms to deal with perceived discrimination.

These themes reflect the influence of race and the deep-rootedness of racism in the society. The interplay between race, racism, and power is also reflected in the themes. The social construction of race that perceive African-Canadians as inferior and the dominant race as superior, as well as individual and institutional racism, give power to the majority race who control resources. The identified themes also give support to the ontological position of this research that racism exists in the Canadian society and the reality that African-Canadians are subjected to discrimination on the basis of their race.

Three of the findings by this study support existing literature on race relations. The first finding is that African-Canadians encounter racial discrimination in the job application process (Oreopoulous 2009; 2012) and this experience continues into the workplace where it assumes many dimensions. They experience wage discrimination, differential treatments as well as other overt and subtle racist acts in the workplace (Galabuzi, 2006; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998).

Another finding by this study that lends support to existing literature is the contention that new or recent immigrants encounter many challenges to settlement in the city. Some of these barriers include lack or inadequate information on services, unemployment, social isolation and social insecurity. These challenges correspond with findings by Stewart et al. (2008), which identified settlement barriers that African-Canadians face to be social isolation, social insecurity, unemployment, as well as inadequate information on services. This study also found that recent immigrants who are well educated take up menial jobs which are below their qualification. Consequently, their skills are under-utilized and they are paid meager wages. This fact was recognized by existing literature where the term 'precarious work' was used to explain the fact that visible minorities despite having higher qualifications are likely to be unemployed or employed in jobs that have low wages, job insecurity, limited social benefits amongst other disadvantages (Galabuzi, 2006).

The third finding of this thesis, which supports existing literature on race relations, is the coping strategies employed by African-Canadians. This study found that when confronted with racial discrimination, African-Canadians did the following: reflected on the discriminatory experiences, hoped and prayed that their situation would improve, tried to find excuses for the perpetrators, vented their feelings to friends and family, and believed those experiences are designed to spur them to greater heights. These methods of coping adopted by African-Canadians in this study are similar to coping strategies identified by existing studies which are, emotional debriefing, spiritual-based methods, problem-solving, and collective coping mechanism (Joseph & Kuo, 2009). This study found that African-Canadians did not engage in verbal or other kinds of confrontation when faced with racism and this corresponds to the finding by Kuo (1995) and Joseph & Kuo (2009). It was also observed by this thesis that new immigrants and students who had no social support were mostly silent in the face of discrimination. This finding lends support to Beiser et al. (2009), which suggest that individuals who do not have personal and social resources available to them may be somewhat limited in the coping methods which they will adopt. This study also adds to the existing literature on the lived experiences of African-Canadians in smaller Canadian cities which is contended to be an under-researched topic.

Furthermore, this study contributes to theories on racism and critical race theory. It is contended by Galabuzi (2006) that there is racism in the Canadian labor market and the Canadian society as a whole, it is also reiterated that new visible minority immigrants encounter many settlement challenges in their new cities. African-Canadians in this study contend that they are subjected to discrimination based on race in their interpersonal relations with the dominant race, workplaces and other environments in the city. African-Canadians who are new or recent immigrants also assert that they encounter many challenges and unmet needs which impede their successful adaptation and integration in the city. The types of racism identified by this study were individual and institutional racism. Critical race theory puts race at the fore in every research and shows how visible minorities are marginalized and discriminated against in the society. Study participants through counter-storytelling illuminated their lived experiences of prejudice and discrimination in a city that thrives on diversity.

Individuals immigrate to Sudbury from their various countries of origin and cities with hopes of building better lives for themselves and their families. It is also their anticipation that Sudbury being a small city, would be more accommodating and welcoming to visible minorities than the larger Canadian cities. They are however disappointed to find that prejudice, marginalization, and discrimination is existent in the community. There is no doubt that Sudbury is a multicultural city and undeniably committed to diversity as is reflected in its various policies and practices. However, it is unclear how much these efforts to foster diversity have changed pre-existing racist practices and notions in the community. Study participants in the academic environment enjoyed positive and rewarding experiences with their teachers and other staff. However, the reverse was the case in their relations with mainstream students. They reported various racist words and acts within the schools. This highlights the need for more awareness and education on diversity, as well as acceptance in schools in the city. Despite the fact that racial discrimination has long been declared illegal by the Canadian constitution as well as other laws at the federal and provincial levels, discrimination on the basis of race continue to operate and thrive in the Sudbury community.

This study reported no bias or prejudice in the relations between African-Canadians and the police force, which suggest a remarkable improvement from what it was in the past, as described by participants. This means that the current race relations situation is not hopeless. More effort is needed to create a positive racial climate and build a society where every individual is given an equal opportunity to reach their full potential irrespective of their racial origin. However, social change does not only occur as a result of government policies. When individuals understand each others' perspectives and experiences, it leads to changes in ideology and practices which bring about changes in the society (James & Shadd, 2001).

Limitations of The Research

The major limitation of this study is the sampling method that it utilized. A sampling bias may have occurred because the study used snowballing sampling and thus, the experiences of African-Canadians may not be balanced or objectively represented (Creswell, 2009). This is mostly because the researcher encountered some difficulties in recruiting participants. Many African-Canadians did not respond to the advertisement for study participants and were reluctant to take part in the study. The researcher had to rely on her contacts and referrals from friends and other participants. As a result of the sampling method used, there was no data from some categories of African-Canadians like, uneducated African-Canadians, and people who practice other religions like Islam. These individuals may have different perspectives and perceptions of their experiences in the city which will also be educative on race relations.

Also, all the higher institutions in the city were not represented in the study as a result of language barriers. Although some francophone African-Canadians in Sudbury were interviewed, they were all multilingual, and none of them were from the francophone higher institutions in the city. This was because the few francophone African-Canadian students in those schools who were willing to participate in the study spoke only French and the researcher being an African-Canadian Anglophone was unable to communicate with them.

Finally, information gathered in the interviews were based on participants' perceptions, and they may not all align with the reality on ground.

The next section suggests some recommendations and possibilities for future research on race relations.

Recommendation

This thesis highlights the need for a greater sensitization of individuals in the city on the importance of acceptance of all racial groups, as well as education on the world of knowledge and possibilities which diversity brings. The duty to foster diversity is not only that of the government, individuals also have to be more tolerant and accepting towards every person irrespective of their race. A meaningful progress on race relations in the society has to start with the people who make up the community. They have to be ready and willing to work towards inclusion in all aspects of societal life. This thesis recommends that an informative programme to educate individuals about different cultures and races be set up in the city and this can take the form of drop-in centers. This programme will serve the purpose of allowing members of the dominant race to have a better understanding of 'foreign' cultures which it is hoped, will go a long way towards allaying any fears and negative stereotypes they may have about other racial groups. It will also serve as an avenue for individuals of all races to come together and interact with each other.

This type of programme can also be introduced in schools in addition to the existing practices to promote diversity and multiculturalism in the academic environment. This may transcend to a greater percentage of the populace for those who view visible minorities as the 'others.' More awareness about race and racism will help in addressing the challenges which African-Canadians face in the city.

Furthermore, this research raises a pertinent question about the policies to combat discrimination in place at the various workplaces in the city. Existing literature point out that Greater Sudbury does not have a formal workforce diversity management policy notwithstanding its strong commitment to diversity in the community (Lajoie, 2011). Participants also described experiences of perceived discrimination in the workplace. This thesis suggests the adoption of formal workplace diversity management policies and its implementation in all organizations in the city. A formal adoption of clear rules on unfair practices and discrimination in the city will encourage visible minorities to pursue their rights when they encounter discrimination. It will also deter individuals who possess racist tendencies from carrying out racial discriminatory acts.

There have been calls for a 'blind recruitment' policy in Canada. Liberal MP Ahmed Hussein suggested at parliament that the federal government follow Britain's lead in removing names from job applications (Common, 2016). The purpose of this proposed policy is to give all individuals equal opportunities to succeed, by not giving employers the opportunity to act on any prejudice or unconscious bias they may have against individuals with ethnic-sounding names (Common, 2016). Study participants found it difficult to secure interviews for jobs which they met all the criteria, and they contend that their names disqualify them from the job competitions.

This thesis recommends the adoption of a blind recruitment policy by the Sudbury municipality to alleviate the difficulties which African-Canadians encounter in their search for employment in the city. This study also suggests the facilitation of networking events by the city. These events will afford new immigrants opportunities to meet with and interact with prospective employers in the city.

Also, recent African-Canadian immigrants encounter various settlement challenges in the city, which revolve around the lack or inadequate information on the services available to address their settlement needs. This study advocates for more information and awareness about the organizations that assist new immigrants in Sudbury; the schedule for various city services, such as the public transit; as well as the available support and services for new immigrants in the city.

This can be done by putting up notices, information leaflets, and posters at public places where new immigrants are likely to visit, for instance, Service Canada offices where newcomers go to get various documents, grocery stores, churches, mosques, libraries amongst other public places. Finally, participants strongly recommended the opening of an immigration office in Sudbury and this thesis lends its voice to this suggestion. Immigration issues are some of the most common, and pressing needs of new African-Canadian immigrants. An immigration office in the city will go a long way towards not only addressing the immigration needs of new immigrants but also make them feel more accepted and integrated into the Sudbury society.

Possibility for Future Research

This thesis contributes to existing literature, which indicate that African-Canadians in small Canadian cities encounter instances of racism in various aspects of their lives. It also attempts to enhance the understanding of prejudice and unfair treatments, which African-Canadians are exposed to and have to contend with in the society. Furthermore, it demonstrates the importance of continued studies on race relations and diversity in not only the smaller cities but all Canadian cities, to examine the success or failure recorded by the various diversity policies and plan on ground, as well as their impact on the lives of African-Canadians.

Studying the lived experiences of African-Canadians was a wide research topic, a closer focus on some of the issues raised in this study will be illuminating and educative on race relations. For instance, studies on settlement challenges encountered by new African-Canadians immigrants, perceived discrimination experienced by African-Canadians in the workplace, experiences of African-Canadian students in higher institutions in the city, mainstream faculty and students' perception of African-Canadians in the academic environment amongst others. This research can also be expanded to include African-Canadians within Northern Ontario where there are relatively fewer Blacks in comparison to Southern Ontario where more African-Canadians settle.

Furthermore, future research can also examine the experiences of Francophone African-Canadians and Anglophone African-Canadians; it can take it further by making comparisons between their experiences, highlighting their unique needs and challenges.

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APPENDIX A



STUDY PARTICIPANTS/VOLUNTEERS WANTED FOR A RESEARCH STUDY

Are you a black/African Canadian Male or Female between the ages of 18 and 75?

If yes: You are eligible and are invited to participate in a study which is examining race relations from the perspective of African Canadians living in Sudbury. This study is conducted by Chigozie Elendu, a Masters student in the department of Sociology at Laurentian University Sudbury.

- You would be asked for your background information and any encounters/stories you may have which is related to race relations.
- Your privacy is very important and will be protected. All of your private information such as your name will not be part of any spoken or written reports and presentation. No personal information that will allow you to be identified will be released publicly.
- The Study will take approximately 60 minutes to complete.
- In appreciation for your time, you will be given a \$5 Tim Horton's gift card.

If interested, please contact Chigozie Elendu-Okoronkwo at Email:

celenduokoronkwo@Laurentian.ca

Thank you for your help and interest.

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

Study: Race Relations: A Focus on African Canadians in Sudbury

I, **Chigozie Elendu** will ask you to talk about your experiences, meanings and perceptions you have about race relations as an African living in Sudbury. Participation in this study is voluntary. Our conversation may take approximately 1 hour depending on the experiences you may want to share.

- You are in control of the interview. If you wish, you may stop and start the interview at any time. You can also decide not to answer any or all of the questions.
- If at any time in the course of the interview, you develop any form of discomfort and are unable to continue, please let me know and the interview will be stopped. I will also make available to you, locations and telephone numbers for free counselling should you require such services.
- Your privacy is important. No identifying information (such as your name) will be part of any spoken or written report or presentations. You can also change the names of the people in your story. However, this will not be necessary as I will be using pseudo names to anonymise data from the interview.
- The digital recording of your interview will be kept in a safe place to ensure that only the researcher has access to them. It will also be safely destroyed at the end of the project.
- I will be happy to share the findings of this study with you, if you like once it is finished.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant, or wish to speak to someone other than me, you can contact my supervisor with the information below:

Dr Parveen Nangia. Professor in Sociology, Laurentian University, Telephone: (705) 675-1151 Extension 4243. Email: pnangia@laurentian.ca

You may also contact an official not attached to the research team regarding possible ethical issues or complaints about the research itself using the following contact information: Research Ethics Officer, Laurentian Research Office, telephone: 705-675-1151 ext 3213, 2436 or toll free at 1-800-461-4030 or email: ethics@laurentian.ca

I have reviewed all of the information in this consent form related to the study called: Race Relations: A focus on African Canadians in Sudbury

- I agree that my study information may be used as described in the study.
- This signature on this consent form means that I agree to take part in the study.

PARTICIPANT NAME

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

DATE

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Pseudo Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Marital Status
5. Educational level
6. Employment status
7. Type of Employment
8. Religion
9. Nationality
10. Where you born in Canada?
11. Length of time in Canada

INTRODUCTION

1. How often do you come in contact with people of other races/ethnicity?
2. Under what circumstances does this occur? (Are they neighbours, Is it at work, Schools, Social events etc.)
3. What is the nature of these interactions? (Is it casual, long or short, in-depth etc.)
4. Do you have friends who belong to other races/ethnic groups
5. If yes, how did you meet them?
6. If no, is there any reason for this?

PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION

1. As an African Canadian living in Sudbury, how welcoming do you find the city?
2. Do you think an individual's race has an influence on how he/she is treated in the Sudbury community? How so?
3. Is there any racial group(s) that you find more accepting and racially tolerant more than others? What are your reasons?
4. Have you ever been or felt like you were "treated differently" because of the colour of your skin/race?
5. Have you ever felt that you were given a preferential treatment as a result of your racial background.
6. Now if you can, would you like to share this experience (how and when did it happen, what was your reaction, how did you feel).
7. Have you witnessed or felt that another person was mistreated because of her race? Please give examples that you know of.
8. What was your reaction to these incident(s)?
9. In thinking about what to do, what did you consider and why?
10. Why do you think the incident(s) occurred?
11. Do you think you did the right thing at that time? Why/why not?
12. What was at stake for you in that dilemma
13. How did you feel about the entire experience?
14. How did you cope with the situation?
15. Is there another way to see the situation/problem other than the way you described it?
16. Thinking back, did you take away anything from this experience/encounter?

CONCLUSION

1. What is your perception on acceptance and diversity in Sudbury
2. Are you aware of any efforts by local, provincial or federal government to combat discrimination on the basis of race or promote diversity?
Please can you tell me about them.
3. Do you think the government is doing enough in this area? If not, in what ways do you think they should do more?
4. Do you think organisations such as businesses, congregations and civil groups have any role to play in checking racial discrimination, if yes, what?
5. Do you have any concluding comments or is there anything you would like to say that you feel you did not get a chance to say during the interview?
6. Do you have any suggestions you think might improve society?

Your time has been very valuable to me. Thank you for participating in this study.

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

chigozie elendu-okoronkwo

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPs 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: 9 January, 2016